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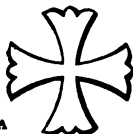
# S. Swithun.

THE COMMON SEAL OF THE MEN OF THE  
PRIOR OF S. SWITHUN, ALVERSTOKE.

THE  
BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER

IN THE  
*Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman*  
PERIODS.

BY THE  
REV. THOMAS HERVEY, M.A.  
OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE :  
RECTOR OF COLMER, HANTS : AND EDITOR OF THE  
"WINCHESTER DIOCESAN CALENDAR."



PROVIDENTIA

STABILIMENTUR.

DEI, FAMILIE



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1877.

110. k. 691.

A true bishop I esteem  
The highest officer the Church on earth  
Can have as proper to itself, and deem  
A Church without one an imperfect birth,  
If constituted so at first; and maimed,  
If whom it had, it afterwards disclaimed.

CHRISTOPHER HERVEY.



## Preface.

**L**UDOR Rous Hudebras, a British king, founded, where Winchester stands, Caer Gwent, the capital of the Gwentians, 892 years before the Christian era, or 140 years before Rome was built! So says the legend; but we need not go so far back in order to enhance the greatness of Winchester. About A.D. 50, it was surrounded with walls by the Romans and called, Venta Belgarum. It afterwards became the capital of the West Saxon kingdom as Vintanceaster, and for a long time during the Saxon period, ranked as the metropolis of England. There, many kings were crowned, there was the royal palace and the mint, and in the reign of Henry I., when it reached its culminating point, it had about ninety churches

with several monastic buildings, and was famous for its many saints.

The importance of the city, without doubt, contributed to the influence of its bishops, and as it was requisite that they should be men of mark, they in return, lent some of their lustre to increase its fame. The bishops of Winchester have been, in general, eminent far above their contemporaries, second only to the archbishops of Canterbury, in their ecclesiastical office, yet often excelling them.

A biographer, such as the author of the *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, is wanted to write the history of these confessors. This book is, for the most part, only a reproduction of some sketches written for the *Winchester Diocesan Calendar*, with some additions, in order that all the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman bishops of Winchester may be included in one volume.

The miracles which are met with in the lives of saints are a stumbling block to many persons, but those which seem most irrational or absurd, are often ordinary events moralized. Such perhaps is the death of Swegen, related on page 160. Such,

undoubtedly was the story of S. Swithun and the woman with a basket of eggs. When the poor woman stumbled on the bridge the saint was building and broke her eggs, the benevolent bishop, as was very natural, provided her with another basket full.

There is nothing unreasonable in a miracle such as that attributed to S. Birinus. It is related that an aged woman both blind and deaf, was moved to seek the apostle of Wessex. She procured a guide who brought her to S. Birinus ; we are not told all that took place, but the saint was touched with her earnestness, and through God's mercy, she was enabled to see him with her eyes and hear him with her ears.

It is safer far to believe than to distrust, lest through our want of faith we fail to discern the mighty power of God exhibited in the lives of His saints.

COLMER RECTORY,

*August 1st, 1877.*

# CORRIGENDA.

Page 90 (note), *for* 931 and 932, *read* 932 and 933.

Page 102, line 4, *for* 851, *read* 951.

Page 125, for line 23, *substitute*—

Hither he led the fish-abounding streams.

Page 129, line 23, *for* Quiquis, *read* Quisquis.

Page 173, line 2, *for* at, *read* et.

Page 208, line 16, *for* Filus, *read* Filius.

Page 220, line 16, *for* Merton, *read* Merdon.

There are other errors which will be obvious to the reader.  
The combination of author and printer in one person does not, it  
would seem, secure accuracy.

\* \* *Only forty copies of this book have been printed,*  
\* \*



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## INTRODUCTION.

A.D. 164—634.

**T**HE early history of Christianity in Britain is involved in obscurity. There is good authority for assuming that a Christian church was planted here A.D. 63 ; but nothing more is known, till we come to the tradition that a British king, named Lucius, having heard of the Christian religion, sent two of his people, Elvan and Medwyn, about the year 164, to Eleutherius the twelfth bishop of Rome for instruction, who commissioned Ffagan and Dyfan \* to convert the king to CHRIST and wash him in the holy Font. Accordingly, Lucius, his queen, and the chief of the Britons were baptized ; and others following their example, in a short time there were no infidels found in the island. It is

\* Apparently of British origin, they became Romish priests and were called Faganus and Deruvianus.

further said that in the year 177, king Lucius built a church at Venta, as Winchester was then called, which was dedicated to the Holy Saviour, and a bishop called Donatus or Devotus, was appointed. There can be nothing but conjecture in thus connecting king Lucius with Winchester, for there is no proof that he had any authority there. At one time he is supposed to have been king of the Iceni, in the eastern counties, at another, with far more reason, of south Wales. In addition to the church at Winchester, he is said to have founded one at Glastonbury, S. Martin's Canterbury, S. Peter's Westminster and many others ; so that it is more probable that the works of several pious but unknown founders were attributed, for want of more certain information, to one who was well known, both on account of his rank and the good works which he did. Four churches near Llandaff which bore the names of Lleurwg \* (Lucius), Dyfan, Ffagan and Medwy, sufficiently confirm this and also indicate the locality where he ruled.

In the year 297, during the Diocletian persecution, the church at Winchester, by whomsoever founded, was entirely destroyed. The two years, 304 to 306, when the heathen Constantius governed Britain there was comparative rest ; then

\* The great luminary ; Latinized into Lucius, from Lux, light.

followed the reign of the emperor Constantine, concerning whom, Eumenius the rhetorician exclaimed, "O fortunate Britain, and now happier than all countries, which has first seen Constantine made Cæsar!" And another panegyrist, "He (thy father Constantius) delivered Britain from bondage, but thou by arising from thence hast made it illustrious."\* The old chroniclers, on the strength of this, gave forth to the world the story that Constantine was born in Britain, and that his mother S. Helena was the daughter of Coel,† a British king. This statement was the more readily received, as during his reign the British bishops were invited to attend at councils, held by his authority, for the settling of order and promoting the true Faith.‡

The church at Winchester was now rebuilt, and dedicated A.D. 312, to S. Amphiballus, a British martyr who was the means of converting S. Alban and like him suffered in the Diocletian persecution. A college of monks was established, and Constans, a son of the emperor, was educated there. It has been suggested that the old walls west of the cathedral, may possibly be the remains of this college.

\* Tu enim nobiles illic *oriendo* fecisti. 'Oriendo' applies to the accession to the empire, not to birth.

† King Cole celebrated in nursery rhymes, king of Colchester.

‡ British bishops attended a Council at Arles in France, A.D. 314; Sardica in 347; Ariminum in 359.

Things went on fairly well, though Britain was for a time troubled with the Arian and Pelagian heresies, till the power of the Romans became so weak that the ravages of the Picts and Scots were scarcely restrained. At length, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Emperor Honorius was obliged to recall the Roman legions from Britain, and the people were left to shift for themselves. It is said the Britons were foolish enough to ask the Angles and Saxons\* to come over and help them against their ancient enemies in the north. But they wanted no invitation. The Jutes first, invaded Kent; Ælle founded the kingdom of the *South-Saxons* in Sussex; and Cerdic took possession of *Wessex* in 519.† So they went on founding their petty kingdoms one after another, and waging war against the Christians. Britain, from east to west, became involved in rapine and slaughter, the cities and churches were burnt, the altars defiled with blood, the bishops and clergy were hunted down like wild beasts; though they continued in the parts invaded, as long as there were any means of assembling a Christian flock; till at length the inhabitants

\* So called from *Seax*, a short crooked sword they wore.

† The Angles settled in the east and north, and took possession of a greater extent of country than the other tribes, therefore, all together were sometimes called *Anglo-Saxons*, and in the end *Angles*, or *English* alone. Hence came ENGLAND or ENGLAND.

who were not destroyed by the sword, were driven out to take refuge in Wales or Cornwall, and the only teachers of the church left in Britain, were S. Columba in the north, and the saints whose memory is honoured in Wales. The knowledge of the Gospel disappeared, and the impure rites of Woden succeeded to the worship of the true God. The cathedral church at Winchester did not escape the general sacrilege and was turned into a pagan temple by Cerdic the first king of the West Saxons.

It seems pretty certain that neither Cerdic nor his son Cynric made any way in Somersetshire, having met with a powerful adversary there in the famous king Arthur ; it was not till after his death that Ceawlin, who began to reign in 577, conquered the northern portion, which remained ever after a part of Wessex. The same cannot be said of Ceawlin's conquests in Gloucestershire, and other places, which his successors could not keep.

Wessex continued in a state of heathenism all through the reigns of Cerdic, Cynric his son, and their successors, Ceawlin, Celric and Ceolwulf\*—for S. Augustine's few attempts had no result—till the time of Cynegils who began his reign in 611,

\* There was another king named Cwichelm, but he was joint king with Cynegils. He it was who attempted the life of Edwin king of Northumbria, who afterwards slew in battle five so-called West-Saxon kings.

and was converted to the Christian Faith in 635, by the preaching of the holy Birinus, the first bishop of Wessex of whom history gives us any certain information.

Before we go on to the lives of the bishops, we should remember that the Saxons when they had established themselves in Britain were by no means content, but were continually quarrelling with their neighbours. Penda king of Mercia was especially the pest of his age ; he is described as an irreligious heathen who loathed quiet, and invaded the surrounding countries, carrying with him terror and confusion. During his reign from 626 to 655, he extinguished the noblest men in the land,—Edwin, killed in battle A.D. 633, and S. Oswald in 642 ; Sigebert of East Anglia and his successor Anna, both excellent Christian princes, were also slain by Penda in two different wars. The progress of the Truth could not but be much hindered by these internal commotions.





## S. BIRINUS.

A.D. 634—650.

**S**...AUGUSTINE landed in Kent in 597, and there commenced his mission. In 601, Mellitus, Justus and Paulinus came to England. Mellitus preached the Gospel in Essex ; Justus assisted S. Augustine in Kent and became bishop of Rochester ; Paulinus went to Northumbria, and baptized Edwin the king on Easter Sunday 627. On the death of Edwin, who was slain in battle in 633, his nephew S. Oswald succeeded, who had been brought up in Scotland in the Christian Faith. In his time Northumbria was thoroughly evangelized by S. Aidan or *Ædan* a British bishop from Iona, the monastery of S. Columba. The king and the bishop, both worked together for the same end—the conversion of souls. The venerable Bede says, “It was a fair sight to see a Christian king interpreting the word of God

to his commanders and ministers." No Saxon king has been more honoured in old traditions, and we know not indeed how much we owe to him, for not in Northumbria only, but in Wessex—the most powerful of all the Saxon kingdoms and which in time absorbed all the rest—he took a part in the conversion of the pagans. The Gospel might be preached to the Saxons by Italian missionaries and a few fellow labourers from France, but the Truth taught by the ancient Britons to the wild nations of Ireland and Scotland, came back to enlighten the country from which it had proceeded, the Scottish bishops, especially, performing a most important part in the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons.

It was about this time that S. Birinus landed in England. He was born at Rome of an illustrious family; as a child he was remarkable for his piety and his readiness to obey. He was of pleasing appearance, kind in speech, sparing towards himself, ever bountiful towards the poor. He became a priest of the Benedictine order in the monastery of S. Andrew at Rome, and received episcopal consecration from Asterius bishop of Genoa. It is said that he came to Britain by the advice of pope Honorius, but his visit would seem rather to have been the result of his own convictions, for he had declared in the presence of the pope that he would

sow the seeds of the holy Faith in the inner parts beyond the dominion of the English, where no other teacher had been before him.

There is an old legend told by several historians with slightly differing details, the substance of which is, that —Birinus having celebrated the holy mysteries before going on board ship, he left behind the corporal, which was the gift of pope Honorius, and in which he always carried the Blessed Sacrament; when he remembered it, the ship was already out at sea; in his sorrow, Birinus knew not what to do, if he spoke to the heathen mariners, they would only mock him, so he threw himself into the sea and made for shore, and having found what he sought, he returned to the ship, which notwithstanding a great wind remained stationary: when the mariners saw that his garments were not wet, they were amazed, they then desired to be instructed in the Christian Faith and were baptized. The ship was driven by the wind and weather to the coast of the Gewissee, or West Saxons, where he landed A.D. 634. The voyage was represented in a window at the Abbey church of Dorchester, but nothing remains of it but a few fragments of painted glass.

Finding that all the inhabitants were pagans, he determined to preach the word of God there,

before proceeding further. Some miracles are said to have been done by him ; of which all that can be said, is that the same cause for miracles existed in the case of S. Augustine who is said to have performed miracles, and of Birinus, as existed in the primitive church. They were engaged in converting a whole people and in laying the foundations of a Church destined to occupy a position in the world equal to, and for aught we know of higher importance than the two great branches of the East and West.

In the following year we find Birinus at the court of Cynegils the king of Wessex ; Oswald, the saintly king of Northumbria, was there also, having come to demand of Cynegils, the hand of his daughter Cyneburh in marriage. When Augustine landed in Kent, Æthelbert the king had married Bertha, a Christian, the daughter of Charibert king of Paris, and he was *Bretwalda* or Emperor, having some sort of authority over the other kings. So here, to second his teaching, Birinus at the court of Cynegils meets with Oswald a most eminent Christian and also at this time Bretwalda. In the twenty-fifth year of the joint reign of Cynegils and Cwichelm, the former was baptized by Birinus, (Cwichelm was baptized the year after when sick, and died that year). The most holy king of the

Northumbrians was sponsor for king Cynegils, and received him as he came forth from the font; by an alliance pleasing and acceptable to God, becoming the spiritual father of the man, whose son-in-law he soon afterwards became. Robert of Gloucester in his Chronicle, gives the following account of the baptism :—

Saint Birin the bishop, a holy man was,  
That into this land, through the pope Honorius, sent was  
To turn king of Westsex, Kingils to Christendom  
And that land of Westsex, and to this land he come.  
S. Birin him to Christendom turnde through God's grace  
And as God wolde, S. Oswald was in thulke place;  
And of holy Font Stone this great king did nome  
And his Godfader was, in his Christendom.  
S. Oswald and this other king, through our LOUARDE's grace  
Provided saint Birin to his will, a place  
That Dorchester is called, that beside Oxenford is,  
As in the east south, and seven mile I wis.

The figures on the font in Winchester cathedral are supposed to refer to S. Birinus. The side on which is the ship, represents his voyage; the south side may be the death of king Cynegils, who on his knees is giving to his son, stone for the completion of the cathedral. Some however affirm that these are representations of events in the life of S. Nicholas of Myra, the patron saint of children.

While Oswald remained with Cynegils, they consulted together concerning the establishment of

a bishop's see, and as the kingdom of Mercia was without a bishop, Dorchester near Oxford was fixed upon as being convenient for the two kingdoms. The jurisdiction of the bishop extended therefore over the modern dioceses of Winchester, Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol, Exeter, Peterborough and Chester. This arrangement was evidently but a temporary one, for Cynegils began to rebuild the cathedral at Winchester, but died before it was completed, in the thirty-first year of his reign, having enjoyed the happiness of a long extended peace. His remains are placed with king Æthelwulf's, in a mortuary chest in Winchester cathedral, on the screen on the north side of the sanctuary; one side bears this inscription:—

*Rex Kingulsus obiit 641.*

And on the other side:—

*Adulphus Rex obiit 857.*

*Kingils i in cista hac simul ossa jacent et Adulphi,*

*Ille fundator, hic benefactor erat.*

After the death of Cynegils, Cenwealh his son succeeded, who gave himself up to a life of luxury and dissipation, abjured Christianity, and put a stop to the building the cathedral, though he had sworn to his dying father in the presence of Birinus that

he would not only complete it, but carry out his father's design of endowing it with all the lands seven miles round the city. Cenwealh, to make matters worse, divorced his wife, the sister of Penda king of Mercia, and married another; this step brought down upon him the anger of Penda, who conquered him and drove him out of Wessex. For three years he took refuge with Anna\* the Christian king of the East Angles, and in 646, was baptized by Felix, the bishop of that country. He then recalled his wife and was restored to his kingdom. His first work was to complete the church at Winchester, and it was consecrated on Christmas day, A.D. 648, and dedicated to S. Peter.

We have no record of the labours of Birinus during the time he had the spiritual charge of the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia, they would be, no doubt, most arduous in those days of internal wars, and very interesting; we would wish to hear something of the early life of S. Oswin, the future king of Deira, who had been brought up from childhood in Wessex, and must during the latter part of his sojourn there, have lived on terms of intimacy with its bishop, as he did afterwards with

\* In Old English, all names and words ending in *a* are masculine. It is the custom to write such womens' names as Edith, Etheldred, and so on, with an *a*, merely because of our familiarity with Latin terminations.

his own bishop S. Aidan. But history only sums up the events of his life by informing us that he planted Christianity in all the adjacent parts, and built and consecrated many churches.

He gave his spirit to heaven on the third day of December, having held the bishopric fourteen years. If this time is computed from his landing, his death took place in 648, in which year Henry of Huntingdon places the appointment of his successor; but if the fourteen years are reckoned from the erection of the see at Dorchester, his death may not have taken place until 650, the time given by Bede. S. Birinus is commemorated on December 3rd. He was buried at Dorchester, but his body was removed to Winchester by bishop Hedda; the monks of Dorchester asserted however that it was another bishop who was translated. On the entrance to a vault in Winchester cathedral, amongst other names is this :—

**S. Birinus Episcopus.**





## AGILBERT.

A.D. 650—664.

**C**ENWEALH, on the death of Birinus appointed Agilbert to the vacant bishopric. Agilbert was by birth a Frenchman, but had received some part of his education in Ireland, and had been working in the diocese of Wessex under the direction of Birinus. He came of his own accord to serve the king, and to preach to him the word of life, and the king, knowing his erudition and industry, desired him to stay and accept the bishopric. There is not much to relate concerning his episcopate, the south of England had no church historian : Bede informs us that he was a friend of king Alchfrid and of abbot Wilfrid, and that he in company with a priest named Agatho visited them in Northumbria. At the request of Alchfrid, he made Wilfrid a priest in his monastery. Bede calls Alchfrid king, possibly of Deira,

for his father Oswi, king of Northumbria, was alive and presided at a synod which was held at Streaneshach, (the Bay of the Lighthouse, now Whitby), to consult about the proper time for the observing Easter,\* and other ecclesiastical affairs.

- Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, with his Scottish clerks took one side of the controversy ; Agilbert, with the priests Agatho and Wilfrid, the other. The king opened the council and then, when Colman had stated his case, he commanded Agilbert to show whence his custom of keeping Easter was derived, or on what authority it was grounded. Agilbert then answered, "I desire that my disciple the priest Wilfrid may speak in my stead ; because we both concur with the other followers of the ecclesiastical tradition, that are here present, and he can better explain our opinion in the English language, than I can by an interpreter." Wilfred then gave the reasons on the other side, and after some discussion it was decided that it would be expedi-

\* The rule of the Church laid down at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, was, that Easter should be kept on the first Sunday after the full moon next following the twenty-first day of March. Some old Churches of the East had kept it on the fourteenth day of the moon, which was the Jewish passover, on whatever day of the week it fell. The Britons seem to have had this custom ; but after the council of Nice, wishing to correct their practice, they kept Easter-day on a Sunday, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the paschal moon inclusive ; this was still one day too soon,

ent to give up the erroneous calculation and adopt that which they found to be better.

Cenwealh, who knew no tongue but English, soon became weary of what he considered Agilbert's barbarous language; he therefore introduced into the province another bishop, Wina, intending to separate Winchester from Dorchester. Agilbert was highly offended that the king should do this without his advice and returned to France, Bede says in 664, and became bishop of Paris, where he died at a good age.

The intrusion of Wina is supposed to have taken place in 662; the only difficulty is in the resignation of Agilbert, which is spoken of as if it coincided with the appointment of Wina, though it could not have taken effect till after the synod at Whitby in 664. Is it not possible that he did not leave till two years after Wina was invited to come to Winchester?





## WINA.

A.D. 664—666.

**W**HEN Agilbert resigned his bishopric; then Wina became bishop of all Wessex, but continued his see at Winchester, most probably to please the king. He was a native of Britain and a monk of Winchester, but had been ordained in France; and there again, the king sent him for episcopal consecration. Wina is described as a man of great talents, but being of an intriguing and ambitious turn of mind, his abilities seem only to have hastened his downfall.

In the year 665, he consecrated Cead, abbot of Lastingham to the bishopric of York. Cead afterwards became bishop of Lichfield, and is better known as S. Chad. He went to Wina for consecration, because the archbishop of Canterbury was dead and another had not been appointed, and says Bede, "there was no other bishop in all Britain

canonically ordained, beside Wina," that is—no other who kept Easter according to the canonical time, or had been consecrated by those who did. Two Welsh bishops, probably from Somerset and Cornwall, came and assisted at the consecration. This is the first act of communion we know of between the British and English Christians.

In the mean time the king seems to have discovered the true character of Wina and got him removed in 666, this would be when he had been bishop about three years. Wina took refuge with Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who was a Christian and had many good qualities, but spoilt them all by taking money from the ex-bishop of Wessex for appointing him to the see of London on the death of bishop Cedd, S. Chad's brother. Wina was bishop of London about eight years, and then, repenting of the sin he had committed in getting himself appointed to it, he resigned and passed the remaining three years of his life in the monastery at Winchester, where he had been brought up, and on his death was buried in the cathedral with all due solemnity.

*Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.*

This was the constant meditation of his latter days; and his sorrow for the past, is some evidence of the sincerity of his repentance.

A mortuary chest on the screen on the north side of the sanctuary of the cathedral, has this inscription :—" In hac cistâ A.D. 1661, promiscuè recondita sunt Ossa Principum et Prælatorum, Sacrilegâ barbarie dispersa, A.D. 1642." It formerly had this :—

**Hic jacent Ossa Wina Episcopi.**





## ELEUTHERIUS.

A.D. 666—676.



**A**FTER the ejection of Wina, Wessex was about four years without a bishop. The conduct of Cenwealh in dividing the see by his own authority, was censured as irregular and invalid by an ecclesiastical synod held at Thetford, the second canon of which refers to the conduct of Wina in accepting part of the West Saxon diocese. The king was again in trouble, harassed by enemies and he had several encounters with the Welsh. This brought him to his senses. Before, when he denied Christianity, he lost his kingdom, and now that he had deposed two bishops, or by his arbitrary conduct had compelled them to leave, and there was no bishop in the kingdom, the divine favour seemed no longer to rest upon it. He recognized in this the hand of God, and sent to Agilbert, whom he had so grievously

offended, and implored him to return. Agilbert could not relinquish the bishopric of Paris, which he then held, and yet was unwilling to refuse any assistance, he therefore recommended to the king his nephew Eleutherius or Leutherius, saying "he thought him worthy of a bishopric." Eleutherius was honourably received both by king and people, and was consecrated in 670, by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. It is said that the ceremony took place at Winchester, where a synod was held by archbishop Theodore at which the union of the whole kingdom of Wessex under one bishop was sanctioned.

Eleutherius resided chiefly at Winchester, but he would not formally transfer the see to that place, in order to prevent the appearance of his giving the least countenance to a measure which had proved so injurious to his uncle Agilbert.

Cenwealh, who had appointed three bishops, died in 671, and was buried in the cathedral, "*sub summo altari*;" he was succeeded by his widow Sexburh, a brave and wise woman, who ruled with moderation, but she reigned only one year; the kingdom was then governed by several petty princes for about ten years.

Eleutherius is described as a person of very great learning and celebrated both for his eloquence

and the sanctity of his life; he was assiduous in the discharge of his duty, and amongst other pious works, he is celebrated for having supported and assisted S. Aldhelm in raising the hermitage of his master Meilduf\* into the famous abbey of Malmesbury. It had been so slenderly endowed, that its members could scarcely procure their daily food and subsistence; but Eleutherius after long and due deliberation, gave it to Aldhelm, a monk of the same place and a native of Wessex, whom he had ordained, and made him abbot. The charter† as given by William of Malmesbury runs thus:—

“I, Leutherius, by divine permission, bishop supreme of the Saxon see, am requested by the abbats who, within the jurisdiction of our diocese, preside over the conventual assemblies of monks with pastoral anxiety, to give and to grant that portion of land called Maildulfesburgh, to Aldhelm the priest, for the purpose of leading a life according to strict rule; in which place, indeed, from his earliest infancy and first initiation in the study of learning, he has been instructed in the liberal arts,

\* He was an Irish monk who settled in Wiltshire, his name was Maeldhu, before it was transformed by the Anglo-Saxons. His place became a seat of learning, and its name, Meildulfes-byrig, was in time softened into Malmesbury.

† This charter is said to be a forgery, but William of Malmesbury ought to be a good authority on the subject.

and passed his days nurtured in the bosom of the holy mother church ; and on which account fraternal love appears principally to have conceived this request. Wherefore assenting to the petition of the aforesaid abbats, I willingly grant that place to him and his successors, who shall sedulously follow the laws of the holy institution. Done publicly near the river Bladon, this eighth before the kalends of September, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 672."

In 673, Eleutherius was at a synod which was held at Heorutford, (Hertford) under the presidency of the archbishop when canons were made for preventing bishops intruding into other dioceses or disturbing monasteries, and forbidding clergy to wander about without the consent of their bishop, or monks to remove without the consent of their abbot.

There is ~~nothing~~ more known of our bishop, his life is summed up by Bede in these very few words,—“he many years zealously governed the whole bishopric of the West Saxons by synodical authority.”





### S. HEDDA.

A.D. 676—705.

**H**EDDA or Eddi, the fifth bishop of Wessex, was an East Saxon by birth, and a monk and abbot ; but whether of the celebrated abbey of Glastonbury, or of S. Hilda's still more famous monastery at Whitby, seems uncertain. He was consecrated in London A.D. 676, by archbishop Theodore, but nothing is known of the manner of his appointment.

About two years after Hedda's consecration, a bishop was appointed for Lindsey, a province which had been wrested from Mercia by Ecgfrith king of Northumberland ; the see was fixed at Sidenacester, supposed to be Stow, a village a few miles from Lincoln. Hedda thereupon consulted the archbishop about transferring his see from Dorchester to Winchester ; archbishop Theodore not only approved of the step but suggested a still

further division of Mercia into four dioceses ; so that the bishop of Wessex had no longer any need to reside at Dorchester, and the church at Winchester which S. Birinus had dedicated to S. Peter was a fitting cathedral. Thither therefore Hedda permanently removed the see, and took with him the body of S. Birinus.

It should be noted, as showing the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church at this time, that a council was held September 17, 680, at Hethfield, or Hatfield, under the presidency of Theodore, at which the first five general councils were received. Thus while the sixth general council was preparing to condemn the Monothelite heresy, an English synod was declaring its firm adherence to the faith once delivered to the saints, and obtaining grace by the confession of a true faith, to acknowledge the glory of the Eternal Trinity; and in the power of the Divine Majesty, to worship the Unity.

In the same year, Hedda made a gift of land to the abbey of Glastonbury. The charter is in these terms :—

“In the Name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, our Ruler and Guide ! On the sixth of July, A.D. 680.

We brought nothing into this world, neither may we carry anything out ; therefore we must provide heavenly things with earthly, and eternal with

those that perish and decay. For which Cause I, Bishop Eddi, freely give to Abbot Hemgils three hydes of land at Lantocal ; and also land in another place for two dwellings, that is, in an island, which is surrounded on each side by a marsh, or pool, the name of which is Ferra-mere.\* And I pray that no man after my death presume to undo this gift ; but if any one shall attempt it, let him know that he will be called to give an account by CHRIST.

✠ I, Eddi the Bishop, sign it with my name."

In 685, Ceadwalla became king of Wessex ; he was of the royal house, but came to the crown by some kind of rebellion against king Centwine. He professed the Christian religion, but had not been baptized, and some of his acts were very unchristian. He spent the two years of his reign in over-running Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight ; and Sussex was for a time put under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester ; it had been four or five years under the care of Wilfrith, whose enterprising zeal led him there, after he had been deposed from the bishopric of York by archbishop Theodore, because he would not consent to a division of his diocese. When Ceadwalla was about to invade the Isle of Wight, he made a vow that he would devote a fourth part of it to God, but when he had

\* The village of Meare near Glastonbury.

conquered it, he showed his devotion in a strange manner by ordering all the inhabitants, consisting of 12,000 families, to be put to death. Wilfrith interposed and claimed one fourth of the people as belonging to God, in accordance with Ceadwalla's vow, and thus preserved their lives. Two sons of Arwald the king of the island were amongst those condemned to death, they managed to escape to the mainland, but were retaken at a place called Stone. An abbot named Cyneberht, whose monastery was near, begged their lives, but succeeded only in obtaining a short reprieve while he might instruct them in the Christian Faith; and as soon as they were baptized they were received into their heavenly inheritance. Ceadwalla soon repented of his cruel deeds, and abdicated at the end of two years "for the sake of God and an everlasting kingdom." He went to Rome, where he was baptized in 689, and died within a week; so he did not survive his baptism much if any longer than those poor boys did theirs.

We hear nothing of Hedda during the two sad years of Ceadwalla's reign, we do not know therefore what further mischief he might be the means of averting. But when the good and pious king Ina succeeded to the throne, who is so justly celebrated for his Christian laws, the preamble to them

informs us that they were drawn up with the advice and instruction of Hedda, bishop of Winchester, and Erconwald, bishop of London; and there is every reason to believe that Hedda stood high in the estimation of the king.

King Ina's laws show what Christianity had effected. If a master made a slave work on Sunday, he was to be fined, and the slave was to have his liberty. If the slave had worked of his own choice, he was to pay a fine or be whipped. A free man was to pay a heavier fine or lose his liberty. If a slave had committed some offence for which he was liable to be whipped, and took refuge in a church, he was to be forgiven. A woman who brought up a child which had been exposed, was to receive an increasing allowance of public money till the child grew up. According to the old Saxon law, if a man was convicted of theft, all his family were condemned to slavery along with him; but it was now declared that children under ten years of age were not accountable. It was enacted also, that every child should be brought to the font to be baptized within thirty days of its birth.

In the year 699, Hedda visited Croyland and ordained Guthlac, the founder of Croyland abbey, a nobleman who had served in the army of the king of Mercia, but preferred rather to consecrate

the rest of his life to the more noble service of the King of kings !

On July 7, 705, Hedda departed to a heavenly kingdom. Bede informs us that "He was a good and just man, and exercised his episcopal duties rather through his innate love of virtue than through the learning he had acquired." Though he was not conspicuous for learning, his letters to Aldhelm are said by William of Malmesbury to show no mean scholarship. He was eminent for the sanctity of his life ; his firmness and authority abashed his adversaries ; while his extreme gentleness and simplicity encouraged all who came to him for advice or assistance. If history gives us but few particulars of his life, much is comprised in them, when we are able to record that he was the king's trusted and esteemed counsellor, and the archbishop's dear and beloved friend. Archbishop Theodore, though a native of Tarsus and brought up in the Greek Church, thoroughly identified himself in all things with the English Church ; and he is represented as making the following request :—

Te nunc sancte speculator,  
Heddi, pie præsul precor,  
Pontificum dictum decor,  
Pro me tuo peregrino  
Preces funde Theodoro.

*M.S. Corp. Coll. Cant.*

Thee then, Hedda, watchman holy,  
Gem of bishops, ask I lowly,  
That for me, on earth a stranger,  
Me in exile, me in danger,  
For thy Theodore, thou mayest  
Make petition, when thou prayest.\*

Bishop Hedda was buried at Winchester, where he died. "Hæddi Epus. in superiore cœmiterio monachorum in Pyramide saxeâ quondam nobiliter exsculptâ adhuc requiescit." [Usher's Antiquities.] He is commemorated on his death-day, July 7.

Bede, in his history, says that "the most reverend prelate Pecthelm, who was a long time either deacon or monk with his successor Aldhelm,† is wont to relate that many miraculous cures have been wrought in the place where he died, through the merit of his sanctity; and that the men of that province used to carry the dust from thence for the sick, which, when they had put into water, the sprinkling or drinking thereof restored health to many sick men and beasts; so that the holy earth being frequently carried away, there was a considerable hole left." This shows, at any rate, the estimation in which he was held by the people who knew him and loved him.

\* Translated by the Rev. Dr. Neale for the life of S. Hedda, in the *Winchester Diocesan Calendar* 1866.

† Successor to a part only of Hedda's diocese.

The Saxon Chronicle says that Hedda died in 703, after having held the bishopric twenty-nine years. This date is wrong, for on the authority of the Chronicle itself, we are told that he was consecrated in 676, therefore his death took place in 705, a date which agrees with the statement of Bede, that Hedda died in the beginning of the reign of Osred. Now Alfrid king of Northumbria, died in 705, and was at once succeeded by Osred.





## DANIEL.

A.D. 705—744.

**B**ISHOP Daniel lived in an age eminent for learning and piety. The poet Cædmon had sung the song of the Creation, the Exodus, the Incarnation of our LORD, His sufferings, Resurrection and Ascension, with many other spells of Holy Writ. Still living, in the north, the venerable Bede was compiling his renowned ecclesiastical history, assisted by Alcuin of Canterbury ; and Acca, bishop of Hexham, the founder of a noble church, was a zealous promoter of church music. In the south, now flourished the celebrated and learned Aldhelm of the royal family of Wessex, and first abbot of Malmesbury. The latter built churches, set up the first organ—"a mighty instrument, with innumerable tones, blown with bellows, and enclosed in a gilded case," as he himself describes it—and wrote a metrical version

of the psalter. The Anglo-Saxons delighted in minstrelsy and song, and Aldhelm succeeded in making the country people sing David's psalms to David's strings, so that the psalm was frequently called a harp song. The following verses, put into modern English by the reverend Edward Churton, will show the state of psalmody at that time.

LORD, to me thy minsters are  
 Courts of honour, passing fair ;  
 And my spirit deems it well  
 There to be and there to dwell :  
 Heart and flesh would fain be there,  
 Lord, thy life, thy love to share.  
 There the sparrow speeds her home,  
 And in time the turtles come,  
 Safe their nestling young they rear,  
 Lord of hosts, thine altars near ;  
 Dear to them thy peace ;—but more  
 To the souls who there adore. *Psalm lxxxiv, 1-5.*

God the word of wisdom gave ;  
 Preachers, who his voice have heard,  
 Taught by him, in meekness brave,  
 Speed the message of that word.  
 Mighty King, with beauty crown'd !  
 In his house the world's proud spoil,  
 Oft in alms-deeds dealt around,  
 Cheers the poor wayfarer's toil.  
 If among his clerks you rest,  
 Silver plumes shall you enfold,  
 Fairer than the culver's breast,  
 Brighter than her back of gold.

*Psalm lxviii, 11-13.*

It will be seen that the worship and customs observed in the monasteries influenced the translator. Minsters were the places for the *ministrations* of religion ; \* the alms deeds were the dolès of food and clothing given away at the gates of religious houses.

Never were there happier times for England, her kings were brave and Christian ; her scholars were as well versed in Greek and Latin as in their own tongue in which they were born, and it is said that Aldhelm, who when a boy had been sent to abbot Adrian at Canterbury for tuition, could also read the Old Testament in Hebrew. Alcuin was able to boast of the learned men and noble libraries of England, at a time when literature was almost extinguished in France, and Charlemagne had to solicit the assistance of the indefatigable transcribers of manuscripts in England.

All was life and activity in the Church ; it was seen on the death of Hedda, that the vast diocese of Wessex was too much for any one man ; it was therefore divided, and all west of the Forest of Selwood was constituted a new diocese, comprising the present dioceses of Salisbury, Bristol, Exeter and Wells. Aldhelm was appointed to the new

\* At that time nearly all the churches were the churches attached to monasteries, which afterwards were called exclusively, *Minsters*.

diocese, and had his see at Sherborne ; Daniel or Danihel to Winton.

Bishop Daniel and Aldhelm were both monks of the abbey of Malmesbury. Daniel had a very high character for learning and piety ; the venerable Bede, when writing his history, received the assistance of bishop Daniel, which he acknowledges in these terms :—"In like manner Daniel, the most reverend bishop of the West Saxons, who is still living, communicated to me in writing some things relating to the ecclesiastical history of that province and the next adjoining to it of the South Saxons, as also of the Isle of Wight." Amongst these communications would be, doubtless, the account of the execution of the two sons of Arwald, king of Wight, already alluded to ; and a statement that owing to the Isle of Wight "being under the affliction of foreign subjection, no man there received the ministry, or rank of a bishop, before Daniel, who is now bishop of the West Saxons." It is then very clear that all that had been done in the Island hitherto, in the way of teaching the heathen inhabitants, was the work of missionary labour, and that not till now did it form part of the diocese of Winchester.

In the year 711, it was decreed in a synod, that the province of the South Saxons, which had been

for about twenty-seven years under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester, should be made an episcopal see and have a bishop of its own; and Daniel, far from regretting the diminution of his diocese, was the most forward to promote this division.

In the year 718, Daniel gave recommendatory letters to Winfrid, better known as S. Boniface, on his setting out on a missionary expedition to Hesse and Friesland. He continued afterwards to write to him, that he might encourage him in his excellent labours. In one of his letters to him he says, "I rejoice and thank God for the strength of faith which has enabled you to do such good works among rude heathens, turning the wilderness into a fruitful field by the plough of gospel preaching." Then he gives him some advice how to converse with the pagan people and gain their attention and make them think. "Ask them such questions as these: Had your gods and goddesses a beginning? had the world a beginning? what is the good for which you worship these gods? is it for the present enjoyments of this life, or for that happiness which you expect to come in another world? which is most worthy of your thanks and praise? Then sometimes show them the superiority of the Christian faith: Are your gods almighty? why then do

they suffer Christians to come and pervert their worshippers? why are those good countries now possessed by Christians, which were lately held by pagans? Only the cold and barren countries of the north are left to you. But it is the power of truth which has given this increase." The good bishop, when he wrote this, was confined to the house by sickness, and he entreats his friend to remember him in his prayers; but he speaks of this suffering with the confidence of a Christian, and adds,—“In the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy comforts have given peace to my soul.”

Daniel made a devout pilgrimage to Rome in 718, and he is supposed by some to have signed a canon made at a synod assembled there about that time, in which a heavy anathema is pronounced on those who should presume to marry women who have taken monastic vows.

King Ina gave up his kingdom in the year 726, he was getting old and found it difficult to restrain some of his rebellious subjects; but his resignation was brought about at last in a curious manner, according to William of Malmesbury, who alone tells the tale. The king had been making a great feast to his lords and other chief men, the house was hung with costly curtains, the table was spread with vessels of gold and silver, and king and nobles

ate drank and were merry. The next day he set forth to go to another of his royal houses, and the queen, Æthelburh, went with him. The servants had taken down the curtains and carried off all the vessels, and the house was left bare and empty. But the queen was not content with this ; she had been continually urging upon the king the necessity of giving up earthly vanities, and she now thought of a plan by means of which she might prevail. She ordered the house to be defiled in every possible manner, and a sow with a litter of pigs was put into the royal bed. When the royal party had proceeded on their way about a mile, Æthelburh entreated that they might return immediately or the consequences would be very serious ; the king at once consented, and was astonished to see a place which yesterday might have vied with Assyrian luxury, now filthily disgusting and desolate. The queen, now seizing the opportunity, pleasantly smiled and said, "My noble lord where are the revellings of yesterday, where the tapestries and all the goodly things ? Are they not all smoke and vapour ; or like a rapid river hastening on to the sea ? Woe to those who are attached to them, for they shall be carried away by the current." So king Ina listened to the voice of his wife, laid aside his dignity and went to Rome, where he devoted

the rest of his days to the care of his soul, and it is supposed died in 728; he is commemorated on the sixth of February. Ina was the founder of Wells cathedral, he also did a great deal for Glastonbury, and his two sisters, Cuthburh and Cyneburh, were the founders of a monastery at Wimborne, where the Anglo-Saxon saint Truthgeba or S. Lioba was brought up. Both king Ina and Daniel subscribed a charter of privileges to the churches of Wessex, in 705, and another to Aldhelm's monasteries.

Daniel was one of the bishops assisting at the consecration of Tatwine, at Canterbury in 731, the other bishops being Ingwald of London, Alduin of Lichfield, and Adulf of Rochester.

On Ascension Day, May 26, 735, an event took place in the north, the news of which, would no doubt, be received all over England with great sorrow. The venerable Bede on this day completed his Ecclesiastical History and departed this life, giving thanks to God and singing hymns to the last. S. Cuthbert has preserved a hymn which Bede put into English when near his end:—

For tham need-fere	Ær his heonen-gange
Nenig wyrtheth	Hwæt his gaste
Thances snotra	Godes oththe yveles
Thonne him thearf sy	Æfter deathe heonen
To gehiggene	Demed wurthe.

this in modern English, may be expressed thus :

“ For the journey all take, no one becometh wiser of thought than him needeth, to ponder, ere his going hence, what his ghost, for good or for evil, after death shall become doomed to.”

In 744, Daniel resigned his bishopric that he might conclude his long-lasting age in quiet repose; for this purpose he retired to Malmesbury, where again he became a simple monk. In a certain part of the town there was a spring, where he was in the habit of passing whole nights in heavenly contemplation; it was in consequence called Daniel’s well. His retirement did not last long, for in the following year he was taken to his eternal rest. This was in the reign of Cuthred, who had come to the throne in 740 on the death of Æthelheard, Ina’s successor. There is little doubt that Daniel was buried at Malmesbury, though some say, at Winchester.

Daniel wrote several books,—an account of the death of S. Aldhelm,\* a life of bishop Ceadda, an account of the Isle Wight, a history of the Anglo-Saxons and other works, but none of his writings

\* Faricius, a foreign monk of Malmesbury, living in the eleventh century, wrote a life of S. Aldhelm, and he says that he made use of some English documents. Among these, possibly, might be bishop Daniel’s writings. Aldhelm died May 25, 709,; he was taken ill while on a visitation tour and was carried into a little wooden church at Doultling, by Shepton-Mallet, where he breathed his last.

are extant, except some letters which may be found in a collection of S. Boniface's. Cressy remarks that "though by his great virtues he well deserved a place among our saints, yet we do not find him recorded in our calendar."





## HUMFRITH.

A.D. 746—754.

**A**FTER the death of bishop Daniel, we come to a long period when the diocese of Winchester had, either no man of mark or no historian. And indeed the same may be said of England in general. Boniface was still living (he suffered martyrdom in 755), but living as he did abroad, his sympathies were not much with the English Church, and he did not do more than keep up a friendly intercourse with Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury,\* and a few others. Not much is known of the archbishop, and Alcuin of York, who was a most eminent teacher, but who did more for France than England, was born about the time of Bede's death, and would be but ten years of age when Humfrith succeeded to

\* He must not be confounded with S. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in 687.

the bishopric of Winchester in 744. Nothing is known of Humfrith beyond the fact that he was at an important synod held at Cloveshoo in Kent, in the year 747. William of Malmesbury merely says of him, "Cujus memoria fit in concilio Cuthberti Archpī."

Among various canons for the government of the Church, passed at this synod, there was one on psalmody, and singing profitably or negligently; those who pray for themselves, are recommended to have great faith in psalmody performed with reverence.

King Cuthred died in 754, and it is supposed that bishop Humfrith died the same year.





## CYNCARD,

A.D. 754.

**T**HIS bishop must have held the see less than a year; that is, if Humfrith his predecessor vacated it at the time supposed. Cyncard's name is given in the Saxon Chronicle, but nothing else whatever is known of him.

Sigeberht was the king of Wessex at this time, having succeeded Cuthred; but he reigned so ill that the Witan, or Council of Wise Men, took his kingdom from him and gave it to another kinsman named Cynewulf.





## ÆTHELHEARD.

Circa A.D. 754-793.

**T**HERE is no certainty about dates at this period ; it may be mere assumption to say that Æthelheard succeeded to the diocese of Winchester in the year 754. Athelhard, as he is generally called, was abbot of Malmesbury, and according to Matthew of Westminster, Birchington, Gervasse, Rudborne, Godwin and others, he was translated from Winchester to Canterbury, and installed July 21, 793, though according to Simon of Durham, appointed in 791. Dean Hook, in his lives of the archbishops of Canterbury, in consequence of the chronological difficulties, comes to the conclusion that two persons are referred to. But may not the authorities be more reliable than the dates, which are manifestly conjectural, and ought not to be admitted in the face of facts.

While Athelard was yet at Winchester a great crime was perpetrated ; king Cynewulf was killed in 784, by the Ætheling Cyneheard, a brother of the deposed king Siegeberht. The king was on a visit at Merton in Surrey, and had only a few men with him, when Cyneheard came with his men and beset the house where the king was. The king came out and struck Cyneheard and wounded him, but was overpowered and slain by Cyneheard's men who rushed forward. The report of this outrage soon reached the ears of the nobles, and Osric the alderman conjured them not to leave the death of their sovereign unrevenged. Cyneheard, at first tried to come to terms with them, making tempting offers ; but Osric and his party pressed on and slew Cyneheard and all his company even eighty-four men. King Cynewulf was buried at the royal city Winchester, and Beorhtric another descendant of Cerdic was chosen who reigned sixteen years.

At this time Offa was king of Mercia, a cruel, overbearing man, and a spoliator of monasteries, though he gained some commendation from Alcuin, because in his latter days, moved with remorse, he founded the famous abbey of S. Alban's. It did not suit Offa's ideas that the Church of his own country, Mercia, should be subject to the archbishop of Canterbury ; he therefore held a council in

786, and persuaded pope Adrian to make Lichfield into an archbishopric ; seven dioceses were taken from the province of Canterbury ; leaving London, Winchester, Sherborne, Rochester and Selsey.

When therefore Æthelheard went to Canterbury in 793, the archbishopric was shorn of much of its dignity. The year after, Alric king of Kent died ; he was the last of the royal line of Æthelberht, and after his death the little realm was rent into various factions by rival competitors for the throne. By the advice of his clergy, the archbishop went away and left his diocese ; but not being easy about the course he had taken he wrote to consult Alcuin. He received in reply a just reproof conveyed however with all the delicacy of true Christian feeling. "What," says Alcuin, "can so humble a person as myself say but acquiesce in the advice of so many of CHRIST's priests ? Yet if they have authority to persuade you that the shepherd ought to fly when the wolf comes, in what value do you hold the gospel, which calls him a hireling, and not the shepherd, who is afraid of the fury of the wolf ?" He then earnestly entreats him to "return, and bring back to the House of God the youths who were studying there, the choir of singers, and the penmen with their books ; that the church may regain its comely order, and

future primates may be trained up under her care. And for yourself, let your preaching be constant in all places ; whether in presence of the bishops in full synod, whom it is your duty to admonish to be regular in holding ordinations, earnest in preaching, careful of their churches, strict in enforcing the holy rite of baptism, and bountiful in alms ; or whether it be for the good of the souls of the poor in different churches and parishes, especially among the people of Kent, over whom God has been pleased to appoint you to preside. Above all, let it be your strictest care to restore the reading of the holy Scriptures, that the Church may be exalted with honour, and that the holy see, which was first in the faith, may be first in all wisdom and holiness, where the inquirer after truth may find an answer, the ignorant learn what he desires to know, and the understanding Christian see what may deserve his praise."

Athelhard returned to Canterbury, and about the same time Kent became a province of Mercia. The archbishop now obtained the consent of the king of Mercia, Cenulf, to the restoration of the see of Canterbury to its former dignity, and was the bearer of a letter from him in 799, to pope Leo III., in which Leo was requested to annul the act of Adrian. Alcuin, who was anxious to see

the arrangement of pope Gregory restored, prayed that the two sees of Canterbury and York might long continue, like the two eyes in the body, to give their light to the whole of Britain. Athelhard was present at a council at Cloveshoo in 803, when the province of Canterbury was finally resettled, but he did not long enjoy the honour for which his successors are indebted to him, as he died on the twelfth of May in the same year. Alcuin who died the year after, wrote—

Et tu sancte pater, pius Æthelarde sacerdos,  
Jam valeas, vigeas, Christo Donante, per ævum.

Of the coins of the archbishop in existence one is stamped with the name of Offa, and others were struck in the reign of Cenulf. On the coin bearing the name of Offa, Athelhard is called *Pontifex*, on the others *Archiepiscopus*.





## EGBALD.

Circa A.D. 793.

**W**E must now go back to the year 793, in which Æthelheard went to Canterbury. But nothing much is known of his successor at Winchester. The termination of the name Egbaldus or Egbladus by which he is known, might suggest an Italian origin, were it not the usual monkish habit to Latinize all names.

Egbald is said to have been a monk of Malmesbury; his name occurs in a charter of king Offa to Croyland, dated 793.\* He is supposed to be buried in the crypt of Winchester cathedral.

\* Offa had done many wicked deeds which he wished to atone for. The year before, he had put to death Æthelberht king of the East Angles, when he came to marry his daughter Æthelthryth. This was done, it is said, at the instigation of his queen Cynethryth who for some reason was opposed to the match, and insinuated that the marriage was only a pretext to occupy the Mercian throne.



## DUDDA.

**Date unknown.**

**T**HE name of this bishop is either Dudda or Cud, but beyond his name occurring in the lists of the bishops of Winchester, nothing whatever is known about him.

There is indeed a supposition that he came also from Malmesbury, and that on his death he was buried in the crypt at Winchester.

From the letters of Alcuin, written about this time to various persons in England, it would seem that the Church was far from being in a vigorous condition ; neglect of learning and degenerate manners had already lowered its tone since the days of Theodore and Daniel and Bede. Alcuin had even to reprove priests and monks for their fox-hunting propensities, and kings for defiling the holy places with blood and despoiling them of their ornaments.

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## CYNEBERHT.

Circa A.D. 799.

**W**HILE Cyneberht and the two previous bishops were at Winchester, Athelhard at Canterbury was, as has already been stated, distracted by the unsettled state of Kent, and the contention about the primacy. In 799, when he went to Rome, Cyneberht accompanied him, and this is about all we know of this bishop; his name indeed appears in a charter of king Cenwulf to Croyland, dated 806. But little reliance can be placed on these charters in a chronological point of view, and Cyneberht must have ceased to be bishop in 803, when his successor was present at the council of Cloveshoo.

In the year 800, Beorhtric king of Wessex was poisoned by drinking of a potion that his wicked queen Eadburh \* intended for another. Eadburh

\* Another Eadburh, a virgin, is buried at Winchester.

was the daughter of Offa and inherited all his bad qualities. The popular indignation was so violent against her that she was compelled to run away. After wandering about and being expelled from a monastery for depravity, she died in Pavia, where reduced to the last extremity, she had been seen begging her bread.

On the death of Beorhtric, Ecgeberht was chosen king of the West-Saxons. He was a descendant of Cerdic and, owing to the alliance between Offa and the last king, had lived for some years in exile at the court of Charlemagne. The experience he gained there, enabled him to take advantage of the confused state of affairs in England, so that in time he brought the greater part of Britain more or less under his power. He is commonly considered to be the first king of all England, and in some of his charters we find the title, *Rex Anglorum*.





## ALHMUND.

Circa A.D. 803.

**A**LHMUND the next bishop, succeeded to the see sometime before the end of the year 803, for in the October of that year he was present at the council of Cloveshoo, and sat there as bishop of Winchester. Nothing more is known about him. He is supposed to be buried in the nave of the cathedral

The celebrated Alcuin died at Tours on Whitsun-day May 19, 804. About this time, or very early in the century, S. Swithun was born.





## WIGBERHT.

Circa A.D. 812-824.

**W**IGBERHT or Wighthen, the next bishop, had been a monk of Glastonbury. He had the honour of placing the crown of England on the head of the first of its monarchs. We are told with a kind of flourish, that it was the *undivided crown of all England*, a statement not strictly accurate.

Wygberht went to Rome in 812, with archbishop Wilfrid; he was at the synod of Calcuith in 816; and at another at Cloveshoo in 824. He must have died, or vacated the see before 829, as his successor was appointed previous to that date; he is said to have been buried in the nave of his cathedral.





## HEREFRITH.

Ante A.D. 829-833.

**H**EREFRITH made his profession\* to archbishop Wilfrid, and therefore must have been appointed before his death in 829. Ecgbert had now reigned twenty-nine years. Since the great battle of Ællandun in 823, he had so extended his kingdom that he was now king of all England, from the English channel to the Frith of Forth, and from the Irish Sea to the German Ocean. But, amidst all his glory there were signs of great coming troubles; during the latter years of his reign he was continually harassed by the incursions of Danes who came for nothing else but plunder. In 832, they ravaged the Isle of Sheppy in Kent; the following year, they came in thirty-five ships and landed at Charmouth on the coast of Dorsetshire. Against these invaders

\* In a MS. Christ's Coll. Camb.

the forces of the king made a stand, but fortune no longer favoured him ; for when he had almost secured the victory, as the sun declined, he lost the battle ; being however favoured by the darkness he escaped the disgrace of being captured. As an omen of the destruction these invaders were to bring upon the church and country, the two West-Saxon bishops, Herefrith bishop of Winchester, and Wilbert bishop of Sherborne—who had gone to fight for their country—were both slain, as well as other noblemen.





## EADMUND.

A.D. 833.

**T**HERE is nothing known of this bishop, except that he made his profession of faith and obedience to Cealnoth, who was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in the year 833. If Eadmund's successor became bishop of Winchester in the same year, it is evident that Eadmund must have been bishop something less than a year.

He was buried, according to *Vigilantius* (Barlow MS.) in the nave of the cathedral, near the entrance to the choir.





## HELMSTAN.

A.D. 833-852.

**I**F, as it is said, bishop Helmstan signed a charter to Croyland abbey in 833, he must have succeeded to the bishopric in that year. Rudborne says he had been a monk of Winchester, and that Ecgberht entrusted him with the tuition of his son Æthulf, or, as he was afterwards called, Æthelwulf. S. Swithun, as we shall see was also his instructor.

In the year 835, Ecgberht obtained a signal victory over the Danes and their British confederates at a place called Hengestesdun or Hengistsdown. Ecgberht was now in a fair way to deliver his country from these Danish incursions but his death the following year, put an end to the success of the English army and encouraged the enemy to renew their devastations. Ecgberht was buried at Winchester where he had been crowned nine years

before. A chest on the north side of the sanctuary bears the following inscription ;—

*Egbertus obiit 837.*

*Hic Rex Egbertus pascit cum Rege Kenulfo  
Vobis egregie munera uterq; tulit.*

Æthelwulf, who had made his profession as a monk, was now, much against his inclination, obliged to ascend the throne; for he was an only son, and the royal line of the West-Saxons would otherwise have failed. He obtained a dispensation and married Osburh, a daughter of Oslac, who became the mother of Alfred the Great. Æthelwulf was mild by nature, and infinitely preferred a life of tranquility to government; he therefore gave the kingdom of Kent and the other small states to his brother Æthelstan. He was not however allowed much peace, for the Danes were always landing in one place or another. In 839, they got as far as London; in 845, there was a battle at the mouth of the Parret, on which river Bridgewater stands, when Eanwulf the alderman of the Sumorsætas, Osric the alderman of the Dorsætas, and Ealstan bishop of Sherborne, fought and conquered; in 851, they seem to have taken or, as the Chronicle calls it, “broken,” both London and Canterbury, but Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald routed them at Aclea or Oak-lea (Ockley) in Surrey.

Bishop Helmstan died in 852, and was buried in his cathedral near the high altar.\* “Sed modo in locello plumbeo positus ex boreali plaga altaris supra tumulum Ric. Toclivii Epī.” Godwin says he lies buried with Kenulf, who succeeded him at the distance of two hundred years, and quotes an inscription on a chest which formerly stood on the north side of the south wall of the sanctuary:—

*Pontifices hac capsula duos tenet incineratos,  
Primus Helmstanus, huic successorq; Agnulfus.*

\* According to a MS. of Barlow quoted by Richardson.





## S. SWITHUN.

A.D. 852-862.

**S**. SWITHUN was a native of Wessex and born early in the ninth century. When very young, he was sent by his parents to the monastery at Winchester, where he was distinguished for his great humility and his application to study. During all the melancholy period of the Danish invasions, from the reign of king Ecgberht to the time when Alfred the Great restored peace to England, science and literature seem to have been banished from the land. Here almost alone, stands S. Swithun, conspicuous amid the general gloom.

In a charter of Ecgberht, A.D. 838, the signature of *Swithanus, Diaconus*, is found close after that of *Elmstan, Episcopus*. Swithun was ordained priest by bishop Helmstan and afterwards became prior of the monastery. He was greatly esteemed by the

king, who made him his spiritual director ; and his name, as "priest of king Ecgberht," is found in a charter which Wiglaf, ex-king or under king of the Mercians had granted to the abbey of Croyland. On account of his reputation for learning, the king placed his son Æthelwulf under his charge.

If our chronology is correct, we now pass over sixteen years from the death of Ecgberht. Æthelwulf had now four sons—Alfred, the youngest was born in 849—and a daughter, Æthelswyth whom he gave in marriage to a Mercian sub-king. As we have seen, he had had a troubled reign, but he had a trusty counsellor in Swithun, and when bishop Helmstan died, he no doubt acceded with pleasure to the petition of the monks of Winchester, and caused his friend and former tutor to be appointed to the vacant see.

S. Swithun was consecrated by Cealnoth the archbishop, to whom he made his profession of faith and canonical obedience. After his consecration he devoted himself wholly to feed the flock committed to his charge, and what time he had to spare he spent in spiritual exercises and the care of the poor. In all his works of charity, his chief desire was to have no witnesses but God and his own conscience ; for the grace of humility was the chief study of his life.

In the year 853, Æthelwulf sent his youngest and favourite son Alfred, then not five years old, to Rome, with a large retinue of people of every rank ; the royal child was received by pope Leo IV. as his son by adoption, and it would seem, anointed by him king of the West Saxons. The fact is recorded both in the Saxon Chronicle and by Asser. There are grounds for supposing that Alfred was conducted to Rome by S. Swithun himself. As Rome was the mother of the Saxon Church, her capital city, and contained a seminary for English students, these frequent journeys there are not to be wondered at ; they may be regarded in the same light as the visits now of Indian princes and native teachers to our own metropolis, who naturally come for instruction and information to a country where God's Church has been a long time established.

In 855, a synod of the clergy and nobles was held at Winchester, at which the tributary princes of Mercia and East Anglia were present. Here king Æthelwulf endowed the English Church with tithes, or rather confirmed the gifts of his predecessors, by a formal charter which was subscribed by Æthelwulf himself in the cathedral church, before the high altar, and afterwards laid upon the altar by the king. William of Malmesbury gives

the charter, a rather lengthy document, from which it appears that the tenth part was to be exonerated from all secular services, and all royal tributes and taxes, so that it might be applied to God's service alone.

The same year Æthelwulf visited Rome, and took Alfred with him. On his way home through France he married Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald, a girl about fourteen years of age, he being sixty. His first wife Osburh was therefore dead, and a circumstance which is related about Alfred, and said to have taken place when he was twelve years old, must have happened when he was seven or not at all. The story is told by Asser, Alfred's personal friend.

The old chronicler relates that, Alfred's mother one day was showing him and his brothers a book of Saxon poetry which she held in her hand, and she said to the children, "Whichever of you shall first learn this book shall have it for his own." Moved by these words, or rather by divine inspiration, and allured by the illuminated letters, Alfred said "Will you really give that book to the one of us who can first understand and repeat it to you?" His mother smiled and repeated what she had said. So Alfred took the book from her hand and went to learn it, and in due time brought it

again and recited it to his mother who then gave him the book.

Æthelwulf rebuilt the Saxon schools at Rome, and on October 1st. 856, married Judith and had her crowned queen. When he returned to England he found a considerable portion of his subjects in arms against him on account of his foreign marriage which was especially distasteful to the people of Wessex because of the crowning; for since Eadburh's time there had been a law that no woman should be crowned queen of the West Saxons. Æthelwulf avoided a civil war by quietly yielding a large part of his kingdom to his son Æthelbald, while he accepted the secondary government of the provincial throne of Kent, Æthelstan it is supposed being dead, and there was no law there against a queen. This compromise was no doubt brought about by the judicious mediation of S. Swithun; and considering the unwise conduct of the king, and the cause he had given for dissatisfaction, the threatened danger was happily averted, and the mildness of the concession is redeemed by its wise policy, "*nimiâ clementiâ et prudenti consilio usus,*" says Asser. The prudent counsellor who arranged the matter between father and son, could have been no other than the tutor, chancellor and bishop, the man whom Æthelwulf delighted to call "*altorem*

et doctorem suum,"—his guardian and his guide. Æthelwulf survived the partition little more than two years, as he died in January 858, and was buried at Winchester. He made a will leaving the the kingdom of Wessex to his sons Æthelbald, Æthelred, and Alfred in order. On the whole, he was a good king, but much is due to S. Swithun, and to Ealhstan bishop of Sherborne; these two were the props of Æthelwulf's reign and the kingdom was governed with skill under their auspices.

The influence of S. Swithun did not end with the death of Æthelwulf; to the horror and scandal of the whole country, Judith the widow of the late king was in the same year married to her stepson Æthelbald. S. Swithun expostulated with the king, and it is said, succeeded in prevailing upon him to agree to a separation. Judith after his death returned to her father's court, and afterwards married Baldwin count of Flanders.

S. Swithun, all this time, did not neglect the work of his diocese; he was engaged in repairing churches and building many new ones in parishes where there were none before; and when he went to consecrate them he was in the habit of going on foot. He was very zealous for the instruction and edification of the people, and he endeavoured also to improve their domestic condition. He appears

to have been indefatigable in promoting the good of the whole kingdom, but particularly of the city and diocese of Winchester, insomuch that a great part of the merit, in whatever was well or wisely done by his pupil, was justly ascribed to him.

The stone bridge which he built by the East Gate at Winchester seemed to the people of that day, who had never seen such stone-work, as the very emblem of permanence and stability, with its piers and arches of stone. It is mentioned in some old poetical lives of the saints quoted by the Rev. T. Wharton in his *History of English Poetry*;—

Seynt Swithan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough;  
The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough;  
For he lette the stronge bruge withoute the towne arewe,  
And fond thereto lym and ston and the workmen that there were,

Winchester then had but wooden monasteries and even a wooden cathedral. S. Swithun erected the lofty cathedral tower, with several stories and projecting beam heads, which was taken down by Æthelwold when he rebuilt the cathedral. The city was ruined and plundered by a roving band of Danes in 860, the same year that Æthelbald died, Æthelberht, who succeeded his brother, was of a timid or inactive disposition, and it was left to Osric alderman of Hampshire and Æthelwulf alderman of Berkshire to put the Danes to rout. It is most

probable that some of the improvements at Winchester were executed after the havoc made by the Danes, especially some fortifications built for the protection of the cathedral from pagan invasion.

S. Swithun, as we have seen, outlived both *Æthelwulf* and *Æthelbald*, and himself departed this life July 2, 862. He was buried by his own particular request outside the church, under the very eaves' droppings, on the north side, which was always regarded as a mean place. Whether he wished to overcome any such prejudice against the north side we do not know, but we do see his humbleness of mind to the very last; he would not be buried like a bishop, or a holy man, inside the church; nor even in any of the choice places in the cemetery, but he would lie, where none not even the poorest liked to be buried, on the side of the dreaded north. "*Sepultus est extra partam borealem navis ecclesiæ qui locus indecens erat, modo verò ibidem quàm pulchra capella in ejus honore constructa est.*"\*

A beautifully written manuscript volume in the British Museum, of about the date 990, gives an account of various miracles at S. Swithun's tomb, and of the translation of his body into S. *Æthelwold's* cathedral. The following translation of an

\* John of Exeter, circa A.D. 1431.

extract \* referring to S. Swithun's tower, burial-place and translation, is by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, Dean of Chichester :—

Not long ago there stood a lofty tower  
With bluff projecting timbers, gurgyle-beaked,  
At narrow distance from the old church porch,  
A tower detached ;—'twas consecrated when  
Saint Swithun's reverend brow the mitre wore.  
'Twixt tower and church—oft named in story both—  
The body of the man of God lay buried  
—To memory lost by very lapse of time ;  
And few were left tradition-skilled t'unfold  
His name or merit—such long time had sped  
Since his interment. For in his own esteem  
So little was he, and of no account,  
(As all who knew him witness, faithful men),  
That, death in sight, he gave strict charge his bones  
Should not be laid within the sacred shrine,  
Nor yet in any of those choice aspects  
Where ancient sires reposed, (bright sunny spots  
Shined on when first the golden sun awakes,  
And shined on through the noon), but rather where  
The westering sun scarce reaches ;—on that side  
Of the antique church he had decreed to lie.

For oft his dying lips gave charge with tears,  
Protesting sternly, he would not be laid  
Within the LORD's pure temple ; nor be equal ranked  
With worthies old of monumental fame.

Such his behest—but mark the just decree  
Of righteous heaven !—The saint who was so vile  
In his own eyes, who slept like common dust  
Outside the church—extolled through power divine ;

\* Bib. Reg. MS. 15 C, vii, folio 73.

By signs innumeros, and by startling proofs  
Vouched meet to dwell with Peter and with Paul,  
Into their church he was in triumph borne.

S. Æthelwold, who lived about a hundred years after S. Swithun, and was one of the most famous bishops of the Saxon Church, was proud to be his successor, and counted it among the chief glories of his holy office that he inherited the mantle of S. Swithun. When he reviewed the catalogue of his predecessors, from Birinus, the missionary founder of the see, to his own accession, next to Birinus he found none more distinguished than S. Swithun; therefore, when he rebuilt the cathedral, he desired to make it the resting-place of his remains. On the fifteenth of July 971, they were removed with great pomp to a shrine of gold and silver within the church, in the presence of many bishops, abbots, and a vast assembly of clergy. This translation of his body we shall come to in the life of S. Æthelwold. It was again removed about forty feet in the year 1094, on the completion of bishop Walkelyn's additions and restorations.

The common tradition, that the monks were prevented removing the body of the saint in consequence of incessant rain for forty days, cannot be traced to any ancient source, and certainly is not corroborated by any historic record.

Swithun was a home made saint, much in the same way as now, one whose life has exhibited a consistent profession, and witnessed to by many, is unhesitatingly pronounced a saint in glory. The miracles which are attributed to him, whether we believe them or not, are a proof of the foregone opinion of his sanctity, and no prejudice should be allowed to interfere with our reverence and regard for the humble-minded S. Swithun. In what light they were regarded at the time, we may see from another extract from the manuscript already mentioned. The writer has just given an account of a marvellous cure and then breaks forth into a hymn of praise to God for sending S. Swithun.

*Illum, toto diligamus corde sed et opere,  
Et in ejus sacra lege meditemur sedue,  
Qui beatum hunc Swithun terris fecit inditum,  
Quin in cœlis gloriosum ut solem clarissimum.  
Gratuletur et exultet felix urbs Winton Tua,  
Quâ virtute tanti patris meritisque rutilat.  
Cujus sacra foveat ossa, sentit et miracula;  
Incessanter illi plaudat odas cum lætitiâ.  
Quantis namque apud DOMINUM meritis emineat,  
Quo splendore, quo decore niteat in gloriâ!  
Clamant istic manifesta pignora indicia,  
Et ad sui cultum corda excitant fidelia.\**

Not having met with any translation of these lines, I will try to give the meaning of them :—

\* Bib. Reg. MS. 15 C, vii, fol. 125.

HIM, with all our hearts' devotion,  
Let us love in will and deed,  
And with earnest contemplation  
To His sacred law take heed.

Who, on earth, set up conspicuous,  
Blessed Swithun in our sight ;  
But in heaven, how illustrious  
As the sun's effulgent light !

May Thy happy Winton beaming  
With so great a father's fame—  
With his power and merits teeming—  
Ever thank and praise Thy Name.

While it guards his bones amazing—  
Fired with marvels once again—  
It, incessant hymns upraising,  
Him extols in joyous strain.

As he did excel in duty  
Walking in his Saviour's sight,  
So in splendour, so in beauty  
Shines he forth in glory bright !

Thus these signs, with strong conviction,  
And the force which they impart,  
Still incite to his devotion,  
Every faithful, loving heart.

S. Swithun is commemorated on July 2, the day of his death, in the Roman Church ; in the English Church, on July 15, the day of his translation. Fifty-one churches in England are dedicated to his honour, and Yelford in Yorkshire to SS. Nicholas and Swithun.

A wax impression of a seal, which was in the possession of the Rev. J. L. Shapcott, of Southampton, has in the centre in high relief, a figure of S. Swithun seated, having a low mitre on the head and holding the pastoral staff in the right hand and a book in the left. Round the edge is the following inscription :—

✠ SIGILL : COMVNE : HOMINVM : PRIORIS : S̄CI  
SWITHVNI : DE : ALWARESTOKE.

It appears that a Saxon lady named Alwara, gave to the church of S. Swithun, for the soul of her husband Leowin, Alwarestoke, Extone and Wydehay. These manors were subject to certain quit-rents to be paid to the prior, and the seal was no doubt attached to a deed or charter of the 13th. century relating to these matters, a copy of which is in existence. In a memorandum on this copy, the *Silver Seale* of the men of Alwarestoke is mentioned, but whether the seal itself is in existence, no one knows.





## ÆLFRITH.

A.D. 862-871.

**T**HE lives of the three next bishops must have been most eventful, cast as they were in days of fierce conflict and frequent blood-shedding ; history however gives us but little information concerning them, and that little is mixed up with accounts of battles, successes and defeats, which make up the history of England during all those long years in which the pagan hosts of the Danes ravaged it from north to south.

Ælfrith, Ealhfrith, or Æthelred was appointed to the see of Winchester in 862. He had been a monk of Canterbury, and therefore was a man of learning ; as a prelate, we are told, he was well informed in ecclesiastical matters, so that he filled worthily the place of his predecessors ; no easy task in those days of trial.

The next four years were comparatively quiet, that is till the end of the reign of Æthelberht, and there was great grief throughout the land in 866, when, after a peaceful reign, he was buried in the minster at Sherborne. Soon after the accession of Æthelred the first, brother to the last two kings, the Danes landed in great force in East Anglia and established themselves there, and then for many years ravaged the north of England, burning the churches and monasteries and putting the monks to death. The church suffered so severely that in many cathedrals there were no priests to perform the various offices. This dearth of priests seems to have affected the cathedral at Winchester, for bishop Ælfrith had to call in secular clergy to officiate until monks could be found to celebrate the divine praises in the ancient manner; but monks in any number were not to be found in England from that time till the reign of Edgar. This was a very serious drawback, for the monks were generally of the noble class and men of education, while the secular clergy, who resided on country estates and in the villages, were ignorant and little removed from the servile class.

In 868 Alfred, by his father's will now next in succession to the throne, married Ealhswyth, the daughter of Æthelred the Mickle or Big, alderman

of the Gainas in Mercia. But scarcely could he have reached Wessex, and installed his wife there, when he was summoned to Nottingham to deliver it from the Danes. The next year there was a great famine, great mortality amongst men; and a plague among cattle. The following year, 870, was one full of sorrow; Peterborough, Huntingdon and Ely were burnt or pillaged, and Edmund king of the East Angles, who went out to repel the Danes, was taken prisoner by them, and when he refused to abjure Christianity, they tied him to a tree and shot at him with arrows till he was dead. The memory of S. Edmund has always been held in great honour, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk.

We must now return to Wessex. Early in the year 871, king Æthelred and Alfred his brother, took Æthelred bishop of Winchester and appointed him to the see of Canterbury, because he had been formerly a monk of that same minster. So we are told; but some historians consider this translation as more than doubtful, and regard Ælfrith bishop of Winchester, and Æthelred archbishop of Canterbury, as two distinct persons. If, however, Ælfrith was not translated, what became of him?

The archbishop in vain attempted to supersede the secular clergy at Canterbury, for owing to the mortality of the previous year there were only five

monks left for the work of the cathedral. Then for years the land was much distressed by frequent battles, and there was warfare and sorrow all over England, so that no change could be made, and the clerks remained along with the monks till the death of archbishop Æthelred in 888.





## DUNBERHT.

A.D. 871-879.



OUR next bishop, Dunberht or Tunberht, succeeded in the eventful year 871. He is known only as the giver of the manor of Stusheling to the church, and as being the bishop who crowned Alfred the Great.

This year, as soon as the frost had broken up, Danish galleys came up the Thames, and Danish horsemen made their way to Reading where they entrenched themselves. Nine great battles were fought this year. In one, Alfred and the king attacked the Danes at Reading. Four days after, the famous battle of *Æscesdun* or *Ashdown* was fought. Fourteen days only passed and another great battle was fought at *Basing*. Two months after, there was a battle at a place called *Merton*; here *Heahmund* bishop of *Sherborne* was slain, and king *Æthelred* was mortally wounded, or at

any rate died at Easter-tide not very long after the battle, and was buried with royal honours in the minster at Wimborne. Sherborne, the burial-place of the West Saxon kings, had no bishop and was perhaps in the hands of the enemy.

Alfred \* now, at the age of twenty-three, as a matter of course and without comment, ascended the throne. There was no time to think of anything but the enemy, and Alfred had to hasten from his brother's grave to the battle-field.

In the following years he often fought and conquered, but to very little purpose, for the Danes were bound by no treaties. At the end of 877, he was surprised by a rapid incursion of the Danes and had to take refuge in the Forest of Selwood, with a mere handful of followers. While he was here in retirement, the well-known incident of the cakes took place, and here he met the swine-herd Denewulf, a thoughtful Saxon, whom he is supposed to have instructed in his leisure moments. We should like to know more about the council held the following spring, and of the solemn Easter services celebrated in some secluded hermitage in the forest. The fortified camp of Athelney,† was

\* *Ælfred* in Saxon, the *rede* or council of *eloes*. I have adopted the ordinary spelling of this well known name.

† *Ætheling-a-ig*, the isle of princes.

the result and a complete victory over the Danes at Ethandun (Edington), Guthrum their king sued for peace, became a Christian and was baptized; and Alfred was, by the treaty which was made, declared king of all England south of the Thames and of the south-western part of Mercia.

When peace was made, the question of Alfred's right to the throne was discussed at a council held at Langadene; Alfred's own account of it is this,—  
“ When the king died no man brought to me title-deed, or evidence that it was to be otherwise than as we had before agreed before witnesses, yet I heard of inheritance suits. Wherefore I brought Æthelwulf the king's will before our council at Langadene, and they read it before all the West-Saxon witan. And after it was read, then prayed I them all for my love—and gave to them my troth that I never would bear ill-will to none of them that should speak right—that none of them would neglect to declare the common right, lest any man should say that I had excluded my kinsfolk. And they then all declared that they could conceive no more rightful title and said, ‘It is all delivered into thy hand, wherefore thou mayest bequeath and give it, either to a kinsman or a stranger as may seem best to thee.’ ”

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## DENEWULF.

A.D. 879-909.

**W**E are now in an age of illustrious churchmen ; there was John of Corvey, called the Old Saxon, because he came from Germany, he was king Alfred's priest at Athelney and first abbot of the monastery Alfred founded there, and also the translator of a pastoral of pope Gregory's. Then there was Grimbald, a priest skilled in music, and learned in Holy Scripture and in all the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the first man of his time "in the science of holy learning," was specially named as Alfred's counsellor. Werfrith, was the zealous and energetic bishop of Worcester, he was often consulted by the king, and at his request translated Gregory's Dialogues into Saxon. The most celebrated man of the time was Asser Menevensis, a Welsh monk,

who wrote the Life of Alfred, and who, during the last sixteen or seventeen years of his life, was the king's most intimate friend and adviser.

The only native of Wessex who would seem to have won a place for himself in this noble band, was Denewulf, an honoured and faithful counsellor of the king. He is commonly supposed to be the neat-herd whom Alfred lodged with in Selwood Forest; though no old writer distinctly says so; one relates that Alfred took shelter in the herdsman's cottage, this is one story; it is another story told by another historian, that bishop Denewulf had been a swine-herd whom Alfred sent to Oxford, where he became Doctor of Divinity. "Alfredus quendam subulcum nomine Denewlphum inveniens, ad scholas misit qui postmodum Doctor in Theologia Oxoniis factus, per ipsum Alfredum Regem in Epūm Wintoniensem ordinatus est." So says Rudborne, and some considerable time would elapse while the swine-herd was at school; but people have put the two stories together, however hard it is to believe that a swine-herd in one year became qualified for a bishopric; for it should be remembered that Denewulf became bishop of Winchester the very year after the meeting in Selwood Forest. If Denewulf the bishop, and Denewulf the herdsman are one and the same, the only way out

of the difficulty would be to assume that Denewulf was a superior person, and like Alfred himself, in retreat : of one thing we may be assured, he was competent for the high office or he would not have been appointed.

According to Matthew of Westminster, Denewulf was appointed in 897, to the important post of governour of the royal city of Winchester.

When king Alfred was a boy, he saw, as he informs us, "ere all within them was laid waste and burnt up, how the churches throughout all the English race stood filled with treasures and books," but the priests who served in them were ignorant and could not read. When he came to the throne, things were far worse, "So clean was learning now fallen off," he writes, "that there were very few on this side the Humber who were able to understand their service in English, or even to turn a written letter from Latin into English, and I think that there were not many beyond the Humber. So few were there of them, that I cannot think of even one on the south of the Thames when I first took to the kingdom." As soon as public tranquility was restored, Alfred applied himself diligently to the revival of religion and literature ; and we have seen what eminent men he gathered round him ; how cordially would they work together with such

a king, for God and the common good. One of his first works was the restoration of the school at Oxford ; he founded the monastery at Athelney, as already mentioned ; another one, for nuns, he built at Shaftesbury and his daughter Æthelgifu was the first abbess. The most magnificent of his ecclesiastical buildings was the New Minster, as it was called, at Winchester ; this he intended for a school, as well as his burial-place, and appointed Grimbald to be the head of it ; he did not live to complete it, and it was finished by his son Edward. Alfred was also a munificent benefactor to other cathedrals and abbeys, and he also established schools for the laity in various parts of the country.

In the year 883, he sent gifts to the churches and Christians in India and received from them in return, precious stones and spices which he distributed among the English cathedrals.

With the aid of Plegmund, Asser, and his chaplains, he translated the Consolations of Philosophy of Boëthius, the history of Orosius, the works of Bede, besides many others. His ENCHIRIDION or Manual, which contained choice extracts and his remarks on various subjects, is unfortunately lost. Alfred's undaunted courage in adversity and wisdom in prosperity justly gained for him the reputation of being the greatest monarch of his age,

and he was not less remarkable for the sanctity of his private life. He divided his revenue into two equal parts, one of which he applied to works of piety and charity. His time he divided into three equal parts, one of which was dedicated to God. He attended the celebration of the Blessed Sacrament every morning, joined in divine service seven times a day and always devoted a portion of each day to reading and meditation.


This is not a Life of Alfred, or there would be much to relate about the king's navy a thousand years ago, about the Danish invasions from 893 to 897, and many other important matters. But we ought to take some notice of the future sovereigns of England now being trained in Alfred's court, and whose names we shall meet with again.

Alfred had five children, two sons, Eadweard or Edward and Æthelweard, and three daughters, Æthelflæd who married Æthelred, the alderman of Mercia, Æthelgifu abbess of Shaftesbury, and Ælfthryth who married Baldwin the second, count of Flanders; from which marriage Matilda wife of William the conqueror descended. Edward married a girl of great beauty named Ecgbwyn, she was said to be of lowly birth, according to one story, but according to another account, she was a noble lady, (*mulier nobilissima*). Æthelstan, the eldest son

of this marriage, born in 895, was a fair and graceful child ; his grandfather loved him and gave him a purple cloak and a belt studded with gems which carried a Saxon sword in a golden scabbard, and "blessed him for king after his son Edward." He as well as two other of Edward's sons, Edmund and Edred, became kings of England.

On the 26th of October 901, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in a time of profound peace Alfred the Great departed this life, leaving his son Edward to succeed him ; during the reign of the latter, in the year 909, bishop Denewulf died and was buried in his cathedral.

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 Here follow according to one or two historians, Athelm, bishop of Winton, 880 to 888, and Bertulph, bishop in 897. The dates so entirely clash with Denewulf's episcopate, that if we admit these two, we should have to give up Denewulf, for whom there is a preponderance of authorities, and who was unquestionably bishop of Winchester. Athelm and Bertulph may have been bishops in Wessex, though not of Winchester—there was a bishop of Wells named Athelm, but he was not appointed till 909.





## FRITHSTAN.

A.D. 910-932.

**P**LEGMUND, archbishop of Canterbury, the wise companion and fellow student of Alfred the Great, having seen that the kingdom was much increased in the west, advised an extension of the episcopate. At a synod convened in 904 or 905, the erection of three new sees was determined upon; these were to be taken out of Winchester and Sherborne. One of these was the bishopric of Wells; another was at S. Petrock or Bodmin, afterwards moved to S. German; the third at Crediton. The two latter were united in the diocese of Exeter, to be again divided near the end of the 19th century. Some historians will have it that pope Formosus commended this work to the archbishop; but as that pope died nine or ten years before, it may be taken for granted that Plegmund, who was a wise and

diligent prelate, did not need any prompting in this matter, but acted according to his own judgment. The division of these two dioceses—Winchester and Sherborne—was carried into effect in the year 910,\* when both sees were vacant. Appointments were made to the three new bishoprics, as well as to the two old ones, two other vacant bishoprics were filled up at the same time, and so archbishop Plegmund consecrated seven bishops in one day; they were—Frithstan bishop of Winchester, Werstan of Sherborne, Athelm or Eadhelm of Wells, Æthelstan of S. Petrock's, Aidulf of Crediton; and Cenulf and Beornege, the first to Dorchester in Oxfordshire, where was originally the see of the West Saxon bishops, the latter to Selsey.

Frithstan was a pupil of the celebrated Grimbald, probably at Winchester, and received from him the habit of a monk. Frithstan had been one of the secular clergy, but observing the holy life and conversation of the religious order, he resolved to devote himself to the monastic life. He is said to have been the very first one (*primitus unus*) of the secular clergy who took such a step. Because of his great piety, he was chosen to be the bishop of Winchester.

\* This is the date in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which makes his resignation to have taken place in 931 and his death in 932. Many writers place these events one year earlier.

Though we do not hear much now of invasions of the Danes from abroad, nearly the whole of Edward's reign was taken up with fighting. This year, 910, Æthelred the alderman of Mercia died and the very next year the Danes broke the peace again. Edward and his sister Æthelflæd, the lady of Mercia, conquered the Danes in Mercia, Essex, and East Anglia, and upon the death of Æthelflæd, who had no son, in 919, Edward assumed the rule in these parts. Northumberland, and afterwards Wales and Scotland, acknowledged his supreme authority and he became *Rex Angol-Saxonum*, or king of the English. No king in Britain before him had so much power. But, only a year after he had reached this height, that is in 925—the year S. Dunstan was born—he died at Farndon in Mercia, and was buried at Winchester.

Three of his sons in turn succeeded him; five of his daughters married foreign princes; one married a Danish king in Northumberland, and three became nuns. Of one of these three, Eadburh, it is related that when she was but three years old, it came into the king's heart to prove the child, whether she would dwell in the world or go out of the world to serve God. So on one side he put rings and bracelets, on the other a chalice and a book of the Gospels. And the child was brought

in the arms of her nurse, and king Edward took her on his knees, and he said, "Now my child, whether of these things wilt thou choose?" And the child turned away from the rings and the bracelets, and fell prostrate before the chalice and the book of the Gospels, and worshipped them with infant adoration. The company present exclaimed aloud, and hailed the promise of the child's future holiness; the king kissed her and said, "Go whither God calleth thee, follow with auspicious steps the spouse whom thou hast chosen, and blessed indeed will thy mother and I be if we have a child more holy than ourselves." So Eadburh became a nun in the city of Winchester, and was remarkable for the great sanctity of her life.

On the death of Edward, Æthelstan was chosen king both by the Mercians and by the West Saxon witan. Perhaps it was on this account that he, as well as several kings after him, was hallowed at Kingston and not at Winchester; but why Athelm bishop of Wells performed the ceremony of crowning him, we do not know.

In 932, Frithstan, having exercised the sacred office of a bishop in all holiness for seventeen years during the reign of king Edward, and five in that of Æthelstan, resigned in order that he might more entirely devote himself to the Divine contemplation.

He either appointed Byrnstan as his successor, or assisted at his consecration, and then resumed the monastic rule and its poverty till his death, which took place on September 10, 933. He was buried in the cathedral.





## BYRNSTAN.

A.D. 932-934.

**B**YRNSTAN, who next succeeded, was also a disciple of Grimbold and a secular. He was consecrated at Winchester on Whitsun-day, May 29, 932. It is recorded of him that he had the singular habit of going at night with his clerks round the minster yard, singing the Office for the Dead, commencing with the Antiphon "Placébo Domino." On one occasion they had just sung the final versicles—

V. Requiem æternam dona eis Domine.

R. Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

V. Requiescant in pace.

when the AMEN was repeated as by a full choir of many voices. Byrnstan was a man of most sincere piety, humility and charity. He was the founder of a hospital at Winchester, described as being near one of the city gates, and which therefore must be

S. John's Hospital, where formerly there was an "image" of him. He ministered daily to the wants of a number of unfortunate persons who had been ruined by the war. In this he was a fervent follower of the example of his LORD; for he washed the feet of the needy and waited upon them at his own table.

When this benevolent work was finished and the poor people dismissed, he was in the habit of remaining alone many hours in prayer. On the festival of All Saints 934, he was found lifeless by his attendants, who knowing his habits had left him for a long time undisturbed; he seemed still in the act of prayer, so suddenly and tranquilly had his spirit taken its departure. He had not, as far as was known, been suffering from any attack of sickness, so some said he had been poisoned, while there were others who wanted to draw conclusions from the suddenness of the death, unfavourable to his memory, and spoke of it as if it were a Divine judgement. They forgot that no death is sudden to him who has lived a life of preparation for it.

It was not till about thirty years after, that his memory was vindicated, and then, in consequence of a vision which appeared to bishop Æthelwold, This bishop was alone in his oratory, when suddenly he saw before him three bishops of sublime

appearance and of surpassing brightness. The one who stood nearest thus addressed him :

“Peace be with thee, beloved brother and fellow-bishop.”

“Who art thou, my lord, and who are these?” inquired S. Æthelwold.

“I am Byrnstan,” he replied, “formerly bishop of this see ; and here stands the holy Birinus, a Roman by birth ; in the other behold the blessed Swithun, the special patron of this city. Know, then, that as you see me now in the company of these holy persons, so I enjoy equal glory with them in heaven. Why then am I, who am thus magnified in the society of heavenly spirits, deprived of due honour among men ?”

The vision then disappeared. S. Æthelwold looked upon it as an intimation to him of the course he ought to take ; and at once called together his clerks, and having related to them what he had seen, an annual festival in honour of S. Byrnstan was instituted.





## S. ÆLFHEAH.

A.D. 935-951.



ÆLFHEAH the first, commonly known as S. Alphege the Bald, was a monk of Glastonbury; he succeeded Byrnstan in 935, having, it is said, been chosen to be bishop of Winchester by the common consent of clergy and people.

Ælfeah was uncle to the celebrated S. Dunstan, who now appears upon the scene, having been introduced at court towards the close of Æthelstan's successful reign,\* by Athelm bishop of Wells, who was also his uncle. Dunstan did not get on well at court, he was always having some disagreement

\* Æthelstan ruled fifteen years with great vigour and success; his great battle was fought in 937, at a place called Brunanburh in Northumberland, where he and his brother Edmund gained a great victory over the Scots and Danes who were led by a Danish king named Anlaf, and Constantine a Scot. Five Danish kings, seven earls, and the son of the king of Scots were slain.

with his fellow pages, who perhaps were jealous of the favour in which he was held by the king. Here, though under fifteen years of age, he fell desperately in love with a beautiful and amiable lady, and wanted to marry her; his uncle Ælfeah had to interfere and urged him to join the monastery. But this was not at all to young Dunstan's taste, who would listen to no persuasion; when however, no long time after, he had been afflicted with a violent and dangerous eruption all over his body, he renounced the idea of marriage and became a monk. Having once embraced a religious life, he devoted himself to it in good earnest, and as part of his duty, studied the various arts which were useful for the service of the church, such as music, painting, and metal-work.

One day bishop Ælfeah had been dedicating the church of S. Gregory that had been newly built in the city of Winchester, and towards evening, ere he went away, the bishop said to Dunstan, "the hour of compline is come, say the office with me in the church." So they went in both together, and after the first versicles they put their heads together for their mutual confession,\* and then separated them for the absolution. When just at

\* *Jungentes capita sua in unum; quo confessiones suas solita consuetudine vicissim proderent.*

that very moment down came a great stone between their heads, brushing the hair of each, but doing no harm to either. We should say the masons had done their work badly, but Birdferth who lived at the time and was an eye-witness of much that he describes, says that evidently the devil had thrown it at Dunstan, but missed him.

King Æthelstan died at Gloucester in the year 940, and was buried in the abbey of Malmesbury, to which he had been a great benefactor. Besides his gifts to Malmesbury, he built a church at Middleton, now Milton, in Dorsetshire, and founded a college of priests there. Æthelstan left no children, and his brother Edmund succeeded at the age of eighteen.

Edmund the Magnificent, as he was called, like his predecessors, had to contend with the Danes who disregarded all treaties. After a good deal of fighting, he became finally victorious, and in 944, drove them out of Northumberland and took it; he took Cumberland the year after. But he did not long enjoy his success. In the year 946, he was keeping the feast of S. Augustine of Canterbury, May 26, at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, when there came into the hall a robber named Liofa, who had been banished six years before. The man sat down not far from the king; so the king told his

cup-bearer to take him away; the man resisted and tried to kill the cup-bearer. Then the king got up and seized Liofa by the hair and threw him down, but Liofa had a dagger and stabbed the king from below. Liofa was cut to pieces by the king's men, but Edmund was dead, killed by the hand of an assassin. He was buried at Glastonbury.

King Edmund left two sons, Eadwig or Edwy, and Edgar; both were very young, so the Wise Men chose Eadred, Edmund's brother, to be king. He was hallowed at Kingston by archbishop Oda.

We do not hear anything of S. Ælfeah all this time; he was quietly fulfilling his episcopal duties. His great piety has however rendered him famous and he has been credited with an extraordinary power of foreseeing coming events. Some remarkable instances of this gift are related of him. One Ash-Wednesday he was urging the strict observance of the Lenten fast, and the duty of self-denial at that season in other things as well as in eating and drinking. One of his hearers did not approve of this kind of admonition and openly expressed his dissatisfaction, saying that he did not relish such advice, and that he considered abstaining from food was quite enough mortification. Some who were standing near, only laughed at the man, but the bishop was heard to murmur these few words,—

“unhappy being you grieve me much, for you know not what the morrow will bring forth.” The next morning the contumacious person was found dead in his room.

On another occasion, when he ordained to the priesthood Dunstan and two other monks, Æthelwold and Æthelstan, he said that two of them would become bishops, one of Canterbury, the other of Winchester, and that the third would be an apostate. Æthelstan, certainly with some lack of modesty, inquired whether he should be one of the two who would attain to the episcopal office. “No,” replied Ælfeah, who seems to have been somewhat annoyed at the question, “there will be neither part nor lot for you in that sacred order, and you will not even continue in that garb with which you now deceive the eyes of men.” It fell out exactly as the bishop had said, for Dunstan and Æthelwold shone eminently in their predicted stations, while the third walked in the broad and downward path of earthly vanities.

Cressy, in his Church History, states that in the annals of the church of Winchester there is a copy of a will made by Ælfeah shortly before his death, in which he disposed of his hereditary lands for the benefit of certain men and women of his kinsfolk, who were to enjoy the fruits of them during

their lives only, after which they were to devolve to several churches in the city of Winchester.

S. Ælfheah departed to the LORD on the feast of S. Gregory, March 12, 851, but was commemorated on the first of September. He was buried in his cathedral.





## ÆLFSINE.

A.D. 951-959.

**T**HE see of Winchester was next presided over by Ælfsine, who is said to have been of royal birth and a man of singular learning, but whatever good qualities he may have possessed, they were sadly marred by simoniacal transactions in his latter days. He does not appear to have done anything while bishop that is worth recording; at any rate, his life at Winchester from 951 to 959, is a blank to us. And yet it was an interesting period of English history.

The good king Eadred died at Frome in 955, and was brought to Winchester and buried in the cathedral; one of the chests on the south screen has this inscription:—

*Eðredus Rex, obiit anno 955.*

*Hic pius in tumultu Rex Eðredus requiescit,  
Qui has Britonum terras rexerat egregie.*

Eadred left neither wife nor child, and Eadwig or Edwy, Edmund's eldest son, succeeded. He was very young—only sixteen—but there was no one else to choose. Before his accession, or more probably very soon after, he married \* the lady *Ælfgifu*, or in Latin *Elgiva*. She was so near of kin to him that, according to laws of the church at that time, he could not lawfully marry her. This union was the cause of great scandal and offence. Now on the day when Eadwig was hallowed at Kingston, there was as usual a great banquet, at which the nobles, bishops, and aldermen were present. Before the feast was ended, Eadwig left the hall and went into another room to visit *Ælfgifu* and her mother. This was a great insult to his noble guests who resented it accordingly. It is related that abbot Dunstan, and Cynesige bishop of Lichfield, left the hall and went to seek the king and when they found him with *Ælfgifu*, they first entreated and then insisted upon his return. We can understand that after this the king and Dunstan were not on good terms, and how it was that in 956 or 957, Dunstan was driven out of the kingdom by Eadwig and was obliged to take refuge in Flanders.

\* It is doubtful whether there really was any marriage. Who would have celebrated it? No one openly.

Either in consequence of his alliance with Ælf-gifu, or of the banishment of Dunstan, Eadwig was very unpopular, and Mercia with all England north of the Thames, revolted and appointed his brother Edgar to be their king. Edgar recalled Dunstan, and the next year, archbishop Oda, acting in concert with S. Dunstan, forced Eadwig to separate from Ælfgifu. This we know from the *Saxon Chronicle*, and it looks as if the intercourse between the king and Ælfgifu was such as very generally to outrage the public sense of decency, so much so that Wessex was now getting discontented as well as Mercia, and Eadwig's only resource, if he hoped to retain his crown, was to surrender Ælfgifu. The same year, 958, archbishop Oda died.\*

Bishop Ælfsine had an immoderate desire to become archbishop of Canterbury, and it is said that Oda, knowing this, had done what he could to hinder his succession. But upon the death of Oda, by means of bribes to the chief persons at court he got himself nominated to the see of Canterbury. Immediately on his arrival in that city he visited the tomb of Oda, and stamping upon it, called him an old dotard, and in most violent language upbraided the departed prelate for having

\* According to the *Saxon Chronicle*, archbishop Oda died in 961, but it seems pretty certain that he died before king Eadwig.

kept him out of what he had so long desired, and which he now possessed in spite of him. It is related that the same night Oda appeared in a vision to the sacristan of the church and bid him go to Ælfsine, the archbishop elect, who had been appointed by man but not chosen of God, and say, "Oda, the servant of CHRIST, speaks : I am not dead, but living to God my Almighty King ; and that you may be assured of this, know that as you were not able to attain to the archbishopric while I was in the flesh ; so now that I am in the heavenly kingdom, you will not be able to retain the honour you have usurped. Hear then what I declare,—because you mocked me yesterday with contemptuous words and violated my tomb, I tell you that you may cross the sea and climb the Alps, but you never will obtain the *pallium* or sit in the Apostolic chair." The sacristan, not venturing to brave the anger of Ælfsine, said nothing about this vision. The following night Oda appeared a second time, but even then the man was afraid to speak. The third night Oda appeared again, and this time he charged the sacristan as he valued his own welfare not to delay any longer to inform Ælfsine. When the bishop had heard the sacristan's account of the vision, he treated it only as an idle tale. According to another account, the vision was seen by Ælfsine

himself and regarded merely as a dream. Soon after this, he set out for Rome to get the coveted archiepiscopal vestment. When crossing the Alps the cold was so intense that his feet—those feet that had so rudely trampled on the grave of Oda—became frozen. In order to bring back life into them some of the horses in the train were killed and his feet put into their bodies for warmth, but the expedient failed and he perished miserably. His body was brought to England and buried at Winchester.





## BRIHTHELM.

A.D. 959-963.

**A**FTER the appointment of Ælfsine to the archbishopric of Canterbury, the see of Winchester was then, according to some historians, presided over by Brihtelm.

If he is the Brihtelm who was bishop of the Sumorsætas or of Wells from 956 to 973, he could not have been bishop of Winchester unless he held the two sees together, which is quite possible. It should be noted that this Brihtelm was nominated to Canterbury on the death of Ælfsine, but perhaps his appointment was not completed when king Eadwig died in 959, and it seems as if he were then not thought good enough, for Dunstan was made archbishop instead.

As soon as Eadwig had been buried in the New Minster at Winchester, his brother Edgar, king of Mercia, a youth of sixteen, was by common consent

made king of all England, and north and south were again united under one head. No king before him had so much power and he was styled "King of the English and of all the nations round about," or "Ruler and Lord of the whole Isle of Albion." It is said that at his birth, Dunstan heard an angelic voice saying, "Peace to England so long as this child shall reign, and our Dunstan survive."





## S. ÆTHELWALD.

A.D. 963-984.



ÆTHELWALD the next bishop, was the son of a noble citizen of Winchester and born there in the reign of Edward the Elder, and therefore not later than 925. From his childhood he was trained to learning, and while yet a youth he was received with much favour at the court of king Æthelstan, where his talents and many good qualities brought him under the notice of the learned men who enjoyed the patronage of that monarch.

He appears to have been nearly of the same age as Dunstan, who was ordained to the priesthood with him by S. Ælfheah, as already stated in the life of that prelate, and when Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury about the year 943, Æthelwold took the monastic habit and became his constant companion; entering with him into the deepest

theological studies. These he relieved by practising various kinds of handicraft, for which he had quite a genius.

Æthelwald remained only a few years at Glastonbury, for in the reign of Eadred he had a great desire to visit France and perfect himself in learning and monastic discipline. But Eadgyth the queen mother, a woman of great piety, represented to Eadred the loss the country would sustain if so eminent a person were allowed to leave it. So as an excuse for keeping him in England, the king in 947, gave him the abbey of Abingdon together with lands and other gifts. The abbey was a deserted ruin, but Æthelwald took with him five monks from Glastonbury, Ordbirht, Foldbirht, Friwegar, Osgar and Eadric, and they at once set about the erection of new buildings. Æthelwald exercised his ingenuity both as architect and workman, and two of the bells he made with his own hands.

While the works were in progress, he nearly lost his life through a heavy beam falling upon him and breaking all his ribs; he was knocked over into a ditch, and but for the ditch he would have been crushed to death. The new buildings were completed about 960, and Æthelwald became famous for his sanctity, and people from all parts of England resorted to him.

There was at Abingdon a simple monk named *Ælfstan*, who was employed in the kitchen. *Ælfstan* had no easy time of it ; he had to cook for the monks, and cook for the workmen engaged on the buildings of the monastery. He was an active, neat, punctual man, who had always meals ready at the right time, the kitchen swept scrupulously clean, the pots and pans scrubbed, and set in their places. *Æthelwald* had no idea that *Ælfstan* was without assistance in the kitchen ; by some oversight he had not supplied him with a scullery-monk, but the cheerful, dapper cook did not complain, but went about his work singing and making melody in his heart to God.

One day *Æthelwald* came into the kitchen and found the great cauldron full of bread and meat for the workmen, the floor as clean as a platter, no dusters scattered here and there, or dirty bowls in the sink, on the table, or crumbs anywhere, but all in perfect, scrupulous order.

“ Oh, my brother ! thou art a gallant soldier of CHRIST ! ” exclaimed the abbot. Thrust thy hand into the cauldron, and fish me up a crust from the bottom and see if the LORD approveth thee as I do.”

The obedient *Ælfstan* took the lid off the simmering copper, put in his arm through the steam,

down through the boiling water, and brought up a dripping crust. And lo, his arm was uninjured! "Tell no man," said the abbot, rejoiced.\*

Ælfstan the cook, became eventually abbot of Abingdon, and afterwards bishop of Wilton.

In the year 963, Æthelwald was promoted to the bishopric of Winchester and was consecrated by archbishop Dunstan on November 29, the vigil of S. Andrew's Day and that year the first Sunday in Advent. No sooner was he made bishop than he joined S. Dunstan in the great work he had at heart, namely, the reformation of the Church by the removal of the secular clergy. The whole religious enthusiasm of the age ran in that direction, and it may be fairly assumed that the secular clergy had become corrupt, and that it was hoped that a reform would be effected by turning out the seculars and introducing regulars. Æthelwald found his cathedral served by these secular priests, who lived under no strict rule, and were very unlike the austere and enthusiastic monks in the abbeys. They took their ease and appointed vicars on very slender stipends to do the work; they were not content to be married but discarded their wives for new ones. When all admonition failed, he ejected them from the close, and assigned for their main-

\* Chronicles of Abingdon, and Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*.

tenance some lands belonging to the church, and filled up the stalls with monks from Abingdon. This might be regarded as a severe measure, but by all accounts the seculars richly deserved it; and when, upon their complaint, a convocation was held to inquire into the matter, they gained nothing by it. The last mass sung by the old canons was on the first Saturday in Lent 964; the mass ended, they were singing the words of the psalm:—

“*Servite Domino in timôre : et exultâte ei cum tremôre.*

*Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascâtur Dominus : et pereâtis de via justa :”—\**

when the western door was opened by the black-robed monks from Abingdon. The monks thought the words appropriate. Osgar, turning in the sunshine at the great gate, exclaimed, “My brethren! the canons are calling us to come in and take their places. Why tarry ye without?”

Then an officer of the king stood forth, and ordered the canons to assume the monastic habit, or to depart. The canons were bewildered and filled with dismay—the plans of Æthelwald had, it would seem, been kept secret till the blow fell—

\* Serve the LORD in fear : and rejoice unto Him with reverence.

Receive discipline lest the LORD be angry : and ye perish from the right way.

and fled from the church. Three only consented to embrace the religious life. "At this time," says Wulstan, "there were no monks in England save at Glastonbury and Abingdon.

Æthelwald next carried out the same work of reformation at the New Minster, and expelled the seculars from Chertsey and Milton. These strong measures caused great irritation, and the old clergy have been accused of making an attempt to poison the bishop; but the only ground for the charge is that he had a pain in his stomach after drinking some home-made wine. Wulstan says that the bishop was subject to such pains. "*Vir Dei infirmabatur frequenter in visceribus.*"

Æthelwald next turned his attention to those monasteries which had been deserted during the Danish wars, and which had in consequence fallen into the hands of the king. He bought first the nunnery of Ely, and having enriched it with lands and other gifts, he placed in it a company of monks under an abbot Brihtnoth. In like manner, he bought and rebuilt Medeshamsted (Peterborough) and Thorney, and by degrees established monks in every part of England.

These extensive operations afforded Æthelwald frequent opportunities for indulging his passion for building and architecture; and he did not neglect

his own cathedral, for perhaps his greatest work was the rebuilding it. In the course of this undertaking, which occupied some years, the body of S. Swithun was removed into the church. Æthelwald was anxious to enrich the new cathedral with the best relic that he could; and here at hand was all that he could desire, in the body of a saint so famous as Swithun. Some miracles that preceded the translation of S. Swithun are recorded on three old leaves preserved in the library of Gloucester cathedral. These have been copied by photo-zincography, and published with a translation and valuable notes by the Rev. John Earle, with the title *Gloucester Fragments*: We read that—

Three years before the saint into church was brought from the stone coffin, (which stands now within the new edifice), came the venerable Swithun to a decrepit old smith, in dream appearing worshipfully apparelled, and these words to him did speak: "Knowest thou the priest that is hight Eadsige, that was of old minster with the other priests ejected for their misconduct by Æthelwald bishop?" The smith then answered the venerable Swithun thus: "Long ago I knew him, Sire! but he departed hence and I know not with certainty where he liveth now." Then replied the holy man to the old smith: "Of a surety he dwelleth now at Winchelcombe settled. And I thee now entreat by the Saviour's Name that thou to him my errand quickly announce, and say to him, for a truth that Swithun the bishop bade that he should go to Æthelwald bishop, and say that he himself open my burial-place, and bring my bones within the church. For that to him is vouchsafed that I in his time should be made known to men." And the smith

said to him: "Oh Sire! he will not believe my words." Then quoth the bishop in reply; "Let him go to my burial-place and draw a ring up out of the coffin; and if the ring followeth him at the first tug, then wot he for a truth that I sent thee to him. If the ring will not up by his single-handed tug, then shall he not in any wise believe thy saying. Say to him eke further, that he himself rectify his deeds and conduct according to His Lord's will, and hasten single-heartedly to the eternal life. Say eke to all men that as soon as they open my burial-place, that they may there find so valuable a hoard that their dear gold will be naught worth in comparison with the foresaid treasures." The holy Swithun then went from the smith up. And the smith durst not tell the vision to any man. He would not be looked upon as an untruthful news-teller. So then the holy man spake to him again; and yet a third time, and severely chided him for that he would not obey his commands actively.

Either the smith did not obey exactly the saint's instructions, or he had received some intimation at the third vision that he might go to the tomb and see for himself, for the legend goes on to say:—

The smith then at last went to his burial-place, and took hold of a ring—timidly however, and cried to God thus, saying with words: "Oh! Thou Lord God of all creatures the Creator, grant to me sinful that I may draw this ring out of this lid, if he lieth here within who spake to me in a dream thrice." He drew thereupon the iron up as easily out of the stone, as if it on sand stood; and he vehemently thereat wondered. He then replaced it in the same socket and pressed it to with his feet, and it so fast again stood that no man might draw it thence.

Then went the smith awe struck therefrom and met in the market that Eadsige's man, and said to him precisely what Swithun enjoined him, and prayed him earnestly that he would report it to him [Eadsige]. He said that he would declare it to his lord,

And he dared not however say it at first, until he reflected that for himself it would not be desirable that he should conceal the saint's behest from his lord. He said then consecutively what Swithun on him enjoined. At that time Eadsige used to shun Æthelwold the bishop and all the monks that were in the minster, because of the ejection that he did upon them. And he would not obey the saint's order; though the saint was related to him in worldly *kindred*. He returned however within two years to the same minster, and became a monk by God's mercy. And there he dwelt until he departed out of this life. Blessed is the Almighty Who humbleth the proud; and the humble he exalteth to lofty dignitaries; and He correcteth the sinful, and constantly supporteth the good who hope in Him, forasmuch as He is the Saviour.

Again, there was a poor ceorl awfully hump-backed and painfully bowed together through the broad hump. To him was made known in sleep, with certainty, that he was ordained to recover at Swithun's burial-place his body's health and *relief* of the infirmity. He arose in the morning accordingly much exulting and with two crutches crept to Winchester and sought the saint just as it to him was said, praying for health with bended knees. He thereupon was healed through the holy bishop; so that it was not visible afterwards on his back where the hump stood that had oppressed him previously.

Other miracles which took place at S. Swithun's grave are recorded, and then it is related how—

King Edgar after these tokens, willed that the holy man should be translated, and spake to Æthelwold the venerable bishop, that he should translate him with honourable solemnity. Then the bishop Æthelwold with abbots and monks raised the saint with song solemnly. And they bare him into the church, S. Peter's house, where he stands in honoured memory, and worketh wonders.

There is another account in a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian library, Oxford. As in

the Gloucester leaves, S. Swithun appears in a vision to a holy man, but here the holy man goes at once to Æthelwald and tells him all about it, and then —

S. Æthelwold went soon to Edgar the good king,  
And told him as was right, this holy tiding.  
This good king was glad the now they nome him to rede \*  
How they might with most honour do that holy deed.  
They assigned a day thereto, as herein counsel say,  
Before harvest in the month of July, the fifteenth day.  
They summoned against thike day, high men the now thereto,  
Bishops and abbots, that holy deed to do.  
When they come to Winchester where this holy body lay,  
In fastings and orisons they were night and day.†

The removal of the body on July 15, 971, was conducted, as will be seen, with great pomp, a numerous company of bishops, abbots and clergy assisting at the ceremony. Mr. Earle observes that, in this translation of S. Swithun the initiative is taken by the people; when the case is prepared, it is brought by the bishop under the notice of the king, who thereupon notifies the bishop of his will that the remains of the holy man be translated. And so, the movement, begun with the people, having through priest and bishop ascended to the throne, is next repeated inversely; the order for the translation issues from the king, and through the bishop and clergy, descends to the people.

\* Advise.

† MS. Laud 463 fol. 63.

In the year 973, on the mass day of Pentecost, king Edgar was crowned at Bath when he was twenty-nine years of age and had reigned thirteen. By some writers Edgar is described as the best and greatest of kings, and there is no doubt that under him England was wonderfully prosperous, thanks to the wise influence of such men as Dunstan and Æthelwald. But Edgar had grievous faults for which Dunstan severely rebuked him, and it is said, deferred his hallowing. When Edgar was yet very young, a girl named Wulfthryth,\* lovely beyond any other maiden in England, was purposely put in his way by her kinswoman; the king fell violently in love with her and wished to marry her, but she fled from him to the abbey of Wilton; he followed her, carried her off from the convent and became father by her of Eadgyth or Edith.† Wulfthryth returned to Wilton where she led a most holy life. She received the veil from the hands of Æthelwald about 963, and afterwards became abbess, and with her daughter Edith, was present at

\* Her conventual name was Wilfreda she is also called Wulfruda. S. Wilfreda is commemorated September 9th.

† An old legend relates that Edgar overtook her at the church door, and flinging himself from his horse, caught her hand and, dropping on one knee, implored her to share his throne. But she left her hand in his and fled into the church without it. This is a very realistic way of saying that he possessed her hand without her heart.

the translation of S. Edward the Martyr. S. Edith died at the age of twenty-three at Wilton, about the year 984, on September the 16th ; her mother survived her at least thirteen years.

At the next interview, archbishop Dunstan had with the king, the king as usual held out his hand, but Dunstan with flashing eye, folded his arms and turned abruptly away, exclaiming "I am no friend to the enemy of CHRIST." Edgar threw himself at his feet, Dunstan bitterly reproached him, and when he saw that the king was moved to true contrition, he laid on him a penance that for seven years he was not to wear a crown. But for some reason or other, as already stated, he was not crowned till he had reigned thirteen years.

The Saxon Chronicle has the following account of the coronation.

This year was Eadgar  
Of Angles ruler,  
In a great assembly,  
Hallowed king  
In the old town  
Akemansceaster ;  
Also it the islanders  
By another word  
Men, name Bath.  
There was great bliss  
On that happy day,  
Fallen upon all

Which children of men  
Name and call  
Pentecost's day.  
There was of priests a throng  
A great band of monks,  
As I have heard  
Of sages gathered ;  
And was then agone  
Ten hundred winters  
In number counted  
From the birth-tide  
Of the glorious King

Light's Guardian,	Seven and twenty.
Save that there yet remaining	So nigh of the victor Lord was
Was of winter number	A thousand years run out
From what writings say,	When this befel.

In 975, Edgar died and was buried at Glastonbury. He had been married twice. By his first wife Æthelflæd, he had a son Edward. By his second wife Ælfthryth, he had two sons, Edmund who died young, and Æthelred. At Edgar's death Edward was thirteen and Æthelred about seven. It was most natural that the eldest should be king, but there was a party in favour of the younger. At a council held at Winchester for choosing a king, Dunstan took his cross and led Edward into the assembly and demanded the throne for him; then all bowed to his authority, and Edward was made king and hallowed. The same year a comet was seen which it was thought forboded great evil.

In 979, king Edward was murdered when only seventeen. He was always good and kind to his step-mother and her son Æthelred his brother, but Ælfthryth hated him because her son was not king. So she sought how she might slay him. The opportunity came when perhaps she least expected it. Thus the tempter always hurries on the wicked to carry out the evil that he prompts. Now one day (March 19), Edward was hunting near Corfe castle

where Ælfhryth dwelt; he was weary and thirsty, so he said, "Now will I go and rest myself at Corfe with my step-mother Ælfhryth and Æthelred my brother." He left his party and rode alone up to the house, and his step-mother came out to meet him and kissed him. And he said, "Give me to drink for I am thirsty." Ælfhryth ordered a cup to be brought, and while he was drinking, her attendant, at a sign from her, stabbed the king with a dagger. When the king felt the wound, he set spurs to his horse in order to join his comrades; but slipping from his horse his leg was caught in the stirrup and he was dragged along till he died. Ælfhryth gave orders that he should be buried at Wareham, but not in holy ground nor with royal pomp. But a light from heaven shone over the grave and wonders were wrought there.

The body of S. Edward the Martyr was translated to Shaftesbury on June 20, 980. The Saxon Chronicle says, "He was in life an earthly king; he is now in death an heavenly saint. . . . The earthly murderers would his memory blot out on earth, but the Avenger above has spread abroad his memory in the heavens and on the earth."

Ælfhryth's hard heart was shaken when she heard of the mighty works done at the grave, and she retired to the convent of Wherwell.

On the death of Edward, Æthelred was made king and hallowed at Kingston on Sunday March 28, 979, fourteen days after Easter. Dunstan is reported to have made this ominous speech at his coronation, "Since thou hast attained the kingdom through the death of thy brother, whom thy mother hath shamefully slain, the sword shall never depart from thy house till it hath cut it off, and the crown shall pass to one of another race and language." We are told that Æthelred wept when he heard of his brother's death, and we have no reason to suppose that he was in any implicated in his mother's guilt; Dunstan does not imply it, but that Divine retribution would follow such sin.

Æthelwald was all this time busy at Winchester. The town suffered for want of water, so with some trouble and expense he made canals from the river near the village of Worthy and distributed the water through the greater part of the city. He also brought into the monastery the stream which still runs through the close. He had previously restored the monastery,—

Quædquandam renovavit ovans antistes Æthelwold,  
 Sollicitudo cui nocte dieque fuit  
 Christicolæ augere greges, atque ore paterno  
 Hos cum lacte soli, lacte nutrire poli.  
 Qui struxit firmisque hæc cuncta habitacula muris;  
 Ille etiam tectis, texit et ipsa novis,

Et cunctis decoravit ovans id honoribus. Hucque  
Dulcia piscosæ flumina traxit aquæ ;  
Secessusque lacu penetrant secreta domorum  
Mundantes totum murmure cœnobium.

*Bib. Reg. MS. 15 C, vii, fol. 51.*

Which bishop Æthelwald with joy restored,  
Whose anxious care it was both night and day  
To multiply CHRIST-loving flocks, and feed  
Them both with milk of earth and milk of heaven.  
He all these dwellings raised with strong-built walls,  
With new made roofs he also roofed them in,  
And pleased, enriched them with all excellence.  
Hither he led the fishy river's streams,  
The pool's deep waters 'neath the dwellings flow,  
And murmuring cleanse all the monastic haunts.

The cathedral had now been thoroughly renovated ; the remains of the holy bishops, Birinus, Swithun and Byrnstan had been placed in magnificent shrines, and all was at length ready for the solemn hallowing. The Latin poem, attributed to Wulstan, just quoted, goes on to describe the work done by bishop Æthelwald :—

Istius antiqui reparavit et atria templi  
Mœnibus excelcis, culminibus novis,  
Partibus hoc austri, firmans et partibus arcti  
Porticibus solidis, arcubus et variis.  
Addidit et plures sacris altaribus ædes  
Quæ retinent dubium liminis introitum.  
Quisquis ut ignotis hæc deambulat atria plantis.  
Nesciat unde meat, quoque pedem referat.  
Omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur apertæ.  
Nec patet ulla sibi semita certa viæ.

Huc illucque vagos stans circumducit ocellos,

Attica dædalei tecta stupetque soli,

Certior adveniat donec sibi ductor, et ipsum

Ducat ad extremi limina vestibuli.

His secum mirans, cruce se consignat et unde

Exeat attonito: pectore scire nequit—

Sic constructa micat, sic et variata coruscat

Machina quæ hanc matrem sustinet ecclesiam,

Quam pater ille pius summa pietate refertus,

Nominis ad laudem celsitonantis Heri

Fundavit, struxit, dotavit, et inde sacravit,

Et meruit templi solvere vota sui.

*Ib. fol. 51, 52—*

He too restored the old cathedral's halls,

With turrets new and lofty towering walls,

Upholding both the north, and southern side

With strong-built cloisters, many arched and wide.

He for the sacred altars chapels made,

That none unwary might their bounds invade.

Who walks these courts with thoughtless steps, he knows

Neither from whence he came nor where he goes,

No certain way there seems, for open wide

So many doors are seen on every side ;

Entranced, his eyes rove here and there, amazed

At the fine roof on skilful structure raised,

Till, coming to himself, he finds the way

To where remote, a far-off entrance lay.

He, crossing then himself with uplift hand,

Astonished goes : he cannot understand—

So wrought with divers colours, bright as gold—

The work which does this mother church uphold,

Which with great love the loving father reared,

Enriched, endowed and hallowed to the praise

Of the high-sounding Name of heaven's great Lord,

And worthy he who such an offering pays.

the poem there is a short notice of Æthelwald's  
'pt :—

Insuper occultas studuisti et addere cryptas,  
Quas sic dædaleum struxerat ingenium:

1 also of the tower, "De turris ædificio;" but  
account of the consecration of the cathedral fol-  
vs next. This solemn hallowing took place on  
tober 20, 980. King Æthelred a lovely boy of  
elve was present and all the great people of the  
d. The venerable archbishop Dunstan, Æthel-  
ld the good hearted bishop of the see and seven  
ier bishops assisted at the ceremony. The name  
S. Swithun was now added to the previous de-  
cation of SS. Peter and Paul.

This is what is written "De dedicatione magnæ  
clesiæ :"—

Regis Æthelredi visu cernente modesto  
In regni solio, qui super est hodie;  
Illum, pontifices sequebantur in ordine plures,  
Complentes secum rite ministerium.  
Quorum summus erat, vultu maturus et actu  
Canicie niveus Dunstan et angelicus.  
Hunc sequebatur ovans anglorum lucifer idem  
Præsul Æthelwoldus corde benignivolens.  
Post alii septem quos nunc edicere promptum est  
Carmine versifico cum pede dactylico—  
Ælfstan, Æthelgarus, rursumque Ælfstanus et Æscwig,  
Ælfheah, Æthelsinus his et Adulfus erant.  
Post alii plures aderant procuresque, ducesque,  
Gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum,

Quos è concilio pariter collegerat illo  
 Quod fuerat vico Regis in Andeferan,  
 Idem pastor ovans ac sæpè notandus Æthelwold.  
 Sicut et Domini gratia contulerat ; \*  
 Et celebrant cuncti sollempnia maxima templi  
 Plaudentes Domino pectore laudifluo.

\* \* \* \* \*

Vox sonat populi,  
 Unusquisque suas alacer trepidavit ad oras,  
 In Domino gaudens, pectore et ore canens.  
 Nunquam tanta fuit talisque dicatio templi  
 In totâ Anglorum gente patrata reor,†  
 Qualis erat Wenta celebrata potenter in urbe,  
 In sancti Petri Cœnobio Veteri.

*Ib. fol. 52,*

53.

See Æthelred the king with modest face  
 Upon the royal throne presides to-day ;  
 Him many bishops followed in due place,  
 The function to perform in proper state ;  
 Of whom was chief, mature in look and mien—  
 Dunstan, angelic saint, with snow-white hair.  
 Him followed, happy, England's morning star,  
 The prelate Æthelwold, with heart benign.  
 Then seven others came, whose ready names  
 Deftly accord with with dactyl-footed verse—

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\* A 'many were present beside chief lords and leaders in battle,  
 Ealdermen, thanes and eke most part of eorles of England  
 Which had from the synod just held in the Vill-Royal of Andover  
 hither

In captive procession been led by the busy benevolent bishop.

*Old Translation.*

† No like dedication for grandeur has been  
 In the whole English nation enacted, I ween.

*Old Translation.*

Ælfheah, Æthelsine, Æscwig, Adulf,  
Ælfstan, Æthelgar and Ælfstan again.  
After these came a throng of thanes and earls,  
Of English knighthood far the greater part,  
Whom the glad Æthelwold had welcome led  
From a great council which had just been held  
In Andover—the neighbouring Royal town;  
These, by God's favour he had hither brought,  
And all with one accord now celebrate  
The solemn hallowing of the new-built church,  
Giving to God the praise with grateful hearts.


\* \* \* \* \*

The people's voice resounds,  
Promptly does each with ready lips respond,  
In God rejoicing, singing heart and voice.  
Never was such a dedication held  
Of church, I think, within the English realm,  
As this with ceremonial so imposing,  
In the Old Minster of Saint PETER Winton.

Further on in the same manuscript we have an  
enumeration of the most eminent and saintly bishops  
buried in the cathedral, and the highest praise is  
accorded to S. Æthelwald :—

Quisquis ut hoc templum beneficia poscere quærit,  
Impetret a Domino gaudia plena Pio;  
Quâ vir Apostolicus jacet almus et ille Birinus,  
Has Lavracro gentes qui lavit occiduas.  
Signipotens in eo pausat quoque demate, Swithun,  
Qui precibus cunctum sublevat hunc populum.  
In medio templi fulgent Brynstanus et Ælfheah,  
Jure sacerdotii cultor uterque Dei.  
Summus et antistes, patriæ decus, altor egentum,  
Spes peregrinorum, splendor, honorque patrum,

Noster Æthelwoldus pastor, pater atque magister,  
 Cujus in æternâ luce coruscat apex,  
 Cujus in Anglorum micat omni limite nomen,  
 Inque monasteriis, pluribus inque locis,  
 Quæ, vovens Domino construxit, Eique sacrauit,  
 Centenos in eis accumulando greges.

*Ib. fol.* 

The first four lines of the following translation  
 were written by the Rev. Dr. Neale in 1865.

Be he, who gives to this cathedral aid,  
 By the full joys he asks from God, repaid!  
 Here doth Birinus, our Apostle rest,  
 Who to the sacred Laver brought this West.  
 Here wonder-working Swithun too is laid,  
 Who with his prayers doth all this people aid.  
 In the mid space, as fits their work divine,  
 God's servants Brynstan and Ælfheah shine.  
 And, prelate chief of all, the needy's stay,  
 The pilgrim's hope, his country's brightest ray—  
 Our pastor Æthelwold, whose virtue's height  
 Resplendent glitters in eternal light;  
 Whose name is famed through England far and wide  
 In monasteries and many a place beside  
 Which he both built and hallowed to the Lord,  
 Where flocks unnumbered praise to God afford.

Under the superintendence of S. Æthelwald, the monastery of Winchester became an eminent school, which produced many of the most remarkable bishops and abbots in the following age. "It was the delight of his life," says Wulstan, "to teach young men and boys growing up to man's

state, to turn Latin books into English, and to give them rules for grammar and metre, and by pleasant conversation to draw them on to better things."

Æthelwald was assisted in this work by Ælfric, the son of a Kentish earl, who had joined him at Abingdon and afterwards accompanied him to Winchester. Ælfric entered heartily into the work and wrote a glossary of Latin and Saxon words and other school books for the use of the boys. His other writings comprise a translation of the five books of Moses, an abridgement of the other historical books of the Old Testament, and eighty homilies or sermons, which were afterward authorized to be read in churches and of which, one for Easter may be especially noted. In 987, Ælfric was appointed to the charge of Cerne abbey, Dorsetshire; after that he became abbot of S. Albans; in 989 he was made bishop of Wilton; and in 994 he was promoted to Canterbury. He died November 16, 1005, when he was about sixty-five years of age.

The chief literary work of S. Æthelwald (or at least, the one by which he was best known) was a translation of the Rule of S. Benedict into Anglo-Saxon. This work he is said to have undertaken at the desire of king Edgar, who gave him for it the manor of Southbourne, which he immediately

conferred upon his foundation at Ely. Æthelwald's munificence was conspicuous in the number and richness of his endowments, probably far exceeding those of any other person at that time. His charity was shown in a no less remarkable manner; when his own diocese was suffering from famine, he ordered the sacred vessels of the church to be broken up and then turned into money, observing that the precious metals were better employed in feeding the poor than in ministering to the pride of ecclesiastics, and that if the church was reduced to poverty, it might be again enriched, but if the poor were starved, it was not in the power of man to recall them to life.

We have seen that Æthelwald was fond of mechanical pursuits, and we learn from the chronicles of Abingdon that he made a wheel full of bells, which he called the Golden Wheel, because it was plated with gold; this he ordered to be brought out on feast days and turned round to excite greater devotion. He was skilled in music, an eminent mathematician and wrote a treatise on the quadrature of circle.

He was of studious habits, and to indulge in meditation or investigation he would sit up all the night. On one occasion a monk named Theodoric went to call him at the time for rising to sing the

praises of God, and found that instead of having gone to bed after Compline, the bishop had sat up reading with a candle in one hand, whilst he shaded his eyes with the other. This was a novel idea to Theodric. How a man could find such delight in a book as to forget his sleep for it, was to him a thing amazing. That a man should read by candlelight was a novelty. So he took the candle from the hand of the bishop, took up the book and tried to read. But his eyes ached next day, and never, till his dying day did Theodric approve of study by candlelight.

Another night the holy bishop fell asleep over his studies, and the candle he held dropped on the parchment page. He was found by a monk with his head bowed, and the candle on the book, but though the grease had swaled over the page, the parchment was not consumed. This was regarded as miraculous.

As already stated, S. Æthelwald often suffered from pains in the bowels, and also from a tumour in the thigh; yet he would not eat meat, except for three months and in his last sickness, at the earnest persuasion of S. Dunstan who was with him. At the time of his departure, when he was about to receive the reward of his labours, he was at Beddington, sixty miles from Winchester, where he

was taken with this sickness from which he did not recover. Having received the last rites, he departed on the first day of August 984, in the twenty-second year of his episcopacy. The Saxon Chronicle thus records his death:—"Hoc anno decessit benevolens Epūs de Winceaster, Æthelwoldus MONACHORUM PATER." Hence he has been called the well-willing bishop, and the Father of Monks.

He was buried in his cathedral, in the crypt, to the north of the high altar.





## ÆLFHEAH, II, OR S. ALPHEGE.

A.D. 984-1006.



ANY of the old Anglo-Saxon names are derived from the elves, as here *Ælfheah* or *Elf-high*; and all had a meaning and should be preserved. But the second bishop *Ælfheah* being better known as S. *Alphege*, the name he bears in the Prayer Book Calendar, it may be as well to use the more familiar name.

S. *Alphege*, then, was born in the year 954, he was of noble parentage according to the world, and while yet very young was committed to the care of good masters, to be trained up in learning and Christian piety. In both these he made great progress, especially in the latter, to which he more ardently applied himself, making it his chief study to love God and to answer the end for which he was created. He prayed earnestly to God that He would make known to him His holy will in this

matter and show him in what state of life he might best serve Him ; promising that no considerations of worldly position or dignity should stand in the way of obedience to the heavenly will. In answer to this prayer he was moved to relinquish his paternal inheritance, and, resisting the entreaties and tears of his sorrowful mother, he retired from the world and became a monk in a small monastery or abbey in Gloucestershire called Derherste or Deerhurst. Here, he served the LORD for some years in watching, fasting and prayer. Afterwards he became prior of Glastonbury,\* but desiring to lead a contemplative life, he went to Bath, then a wild and uncultivated district, and built a small cell in which he shut himself up and lived as an anchorite in the most wonderful austerity. The fame of his sanctity travelled far, and brought many to his cell who desired to open to him the sorrows of their wounded souls, and be guided by his heavenly counsels. And not a few, forsaking the world, put themselves under his discipline, to learn of him the way of perfection. Thus by degrees a large monastery grew up, of which the saint was the superior and teacher. This was the beginning of what afterwards became the abbey of Bath and led to Bath becoming a cathedral city.

\* William of Malmesbury, *De Reg. lib. ii, c. 12.*

Amongst other lessons which S. Alphege daily inculcated both by precept and example, was the necessity of sincerity. He denounced, as guilty of a living lie, all false monks—those who took the habit of religion, but did not live up to what their profession required of them. And such pretenders it seems there were in his community, who neglecting the spirit of their holy institution, returned in heart and affections to the Egypt they had forsaken. While the saint communed with his God in some remote cell whither he was wont to retire, these faithless monks, watching their opportunity, spent the silent hours of the night in junketting together, giving themselves up to excesses wholly inconsistent with their rule and vocation.

The Almighty did not suffer such iniquities to go on long unpunished ; for the one who was the instigator and chief in these ungodly revels, was suddenly taken away by a frightful death. And that all might take warning by this judgment, it was made manifest in a most striking manner.

The night after the burial of the deceased monk, S. Alphege, while at his devotions, heard a fearful cry ring through the monastery. He left his cell to ascertain the cause, and proceeding to the place where the sound came from, he saw the departed monk lying on the ground and several ill-favoured

wretches scourging him with whips and fiery serpents, he all the while shrieking and making the most lamentable cries, whilst they reproached him in these oft-repeated words, "*Nec tu Deo, nec nos tibi,*"—*Not so much as you did unrighteously to God, do we to you*; then they dragged him out of the place. S. Alphege returned to his cell very sorrowful; the next day he called together the brethren and told them what he had seen and heard. The guilty were horror-struck, and moved by a wholesome fear, at once publicly confessed and renounced their irregular courses, at the same time acknowledging that their nocturnal meetings had been held in the very place where their companion had been seen tormented by devils.

Alphege was thirty years of age in 984, when the holy bishop Æthelwald departed to the Lord. At his death there was a contention between the canons and monks about the choice of a successor. S. Dunstan was appealed to and asked to name a person for the vacant see. He on his knees prayed God to direct his choice aright. It is related that S. Andrew appeared to him in a vision and pointed out abbot Alphege as pre-eminently fitted for the office. At any rate Dunstan nominated Alphege.

Thus S. Alphege was much against his own inclination, forced out of his solitude and made

bishop of Winchester, he was consecrated October 19, 984, and enthroned nine days after on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude. His elevation made no alteration in his manner of life, he still continued remarkable for his austerities, rising at midnight both winter and summer, to perform the Divine Office and prolonging his devotions till daylight. He never eat meat except when sickness rendered it necessary, and was always so abstemious in his diet that he was almost a skeleton. But though he was so severe to himself, he was remarkable for his gentleness and love to others ; his consideration for the poor was in particular so exemplary and well-directed that there were no beggars in the diocese all the time he presided over it.

And misery and want must have been common in those disastrous days when England was again harrassed by the Danes. As long as Dunstan lived the country was well governed, and though there had been invasions in 980 and 982, things were not altogether bad till the death of Dunstan in 988, then everything went wrong. All the badness and weakness of king Æthelred's character came out ; he was weak, cowardly, cruel and perhaps the only thoroughly bad king among all the kings of the West-Saxon line. He entrusted the command of his forces to men whom he had every reason to

suspect of treachery, but either had not resolution to dismiss, or could not, because he had made use of them as instruments of his cruelty. Then, too he was always doing things at wrong times and leaving undone what he should have done, so that he was called *Æthelred the Unready*.\*

About this time we hear of a great many misfortunes, such as a great murrain among cattle, a great quarrel between the king and the bishop of Rochester, in which *Æthelred* ravaged the bishop's lands, and the burning of London in 982.

The Danes, taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs in England, landed the same year at Southampton and ravaged the country round. In 991, a Norwegian army of great strength invaded Essex, plundered Ipswich and then went to Maldon. There, Brihtnoth, alderman of the East-Saxons, made a noble stand against them, but to no purpose, his men were cut to pieces and he died fighting bravely. He was buried in the famous abbey of Ely, which he had helped to found.

One of the longest† and grandest of the old Anglo-Saxon songs, that of *Brunanburh*, describes the battle of Maldon, and how Brihtnoth's followers

\* This was a play upon his name, which means *noble counsellor*, because he was without *rede* or counsel.

† The fragment extant has 643 lines.

displayed the greatest courage, how Brihtnoth himself was most conspicuous, having slain with his own hands one of the enemy's chiefs, and after he had received his death-wound, felled to the ground with his battle-axe a soldier who came to plunder him, and how in his last moments he showed how a Christian soldier should meet death.

From his hands then fell  
His sword of golden hilt,  
Nor might he handle  
The heavy falchion,  
Or his weapon wield.  
Yet a word spoke  
The hoary war-man;  
The daring youths  
Bade he go forth,  
His good companions.  
He might not on feet long  
Now stand up fast;  
He to heaven looked;  
"Thank Thee, nations' Ruler

For all the good things  
That I on earth have known  
Now I own mild Maker,  
That I have utmost need  
That Thou to my ghost  
Blessing should grant  
That my soul to Thee  
Now may make its way  
To Thy heavenly keeping  
O Lord of Angels  
With peace to journey.  
I to Thee am praying  
That the hell-demons  
May vex it never."

On Brihtnoth's death his followers vowed that they would avenge their lord or perish. One of them named Brihtwold spoke thus :—

"Mind shall the harder be,  
Heart shall the keener be,  
Mood shall the the more be,  
As our strength lessens.  
Here lies our Elder,  
A good man in the dust;  
Ever may he groan

Who now from this war-play  
Of flying thinketh.  
I am old of life;  
Hence stir will I not,  
And I by the side  
Of such a loved man  
To lie am thinking."

After this defeat, archbishop Sigeric, alderman Æthelweard and Ælfric alderman of Mercia (who afterwards became a traitor), advised the payment of ten-thousand pounds to the invaders to go away. This foolish policy of bribing the enemy did not answer, for of course as soon as the money was spent they came back again. The next year, the king ordered a fleet to be got ready, but alderman Ælfric, who was one of the commanders, went over to the enemy. Æthelred in revenge seized Ælfric's son Ælfgar and had his eyes put out.

In the year 994, Anlaf or Olaf Tryggvesson king of Norway, and Swegen the Dane, attacked London and then ravaged the south coast. Again money was given, and the invaders remained that winter at Southampton without doing any more mischief. King Æthelred sent Alphege bishop of Winchester and alderman Æthelweard to confer with king Olaf, and they brought him to Andover, where the king was. A treaty of peace was concluded between the two kings, and Olaf promised, —confirming the promise with an oath—that he would never invade England again, a promise which he faithfully kept.

Olaf was a Christian, but had never been confirmed, so bishop Alphege confirmed him and king Æthelred adopted him as his son. According to

William of Malmesbury, Æthelred stood for him at the font, as if he were only now baptized, though it is elsewhere said that he had been baptized the year before either in the Orkney or Scilly Islands.

Olaf went back to his own country, and with the assistance of several missionary priests from England, introduced the Christian religion, more by force than by persuasion, into Norway.

Swegen remained in England with his fleet and army, and for the next few years ravaged all the country. In the year 1002, king Æthelred married Emma sister of Duke Richard of Normandy, and more money was given to the Danes. Later on in the same year, on S. Brice's day (November 13th,) Æthelred caused the Danes who were in England to be massacred. Most of these were peaceable settlers, and some of them had intermarried with the English; but no distinction was made; no age nor sex was spared, and the outrage was not only a wanton act of cruelty but most impolitic, especially when we know that among those who suffered was Gunhild the sister of king Swegen. She was the wife of Pallig, a Danish earl, who had been in Æthelred's service and gone back again to the Danes. We are told that Gunhild's husband and son were killed before her eyes, and then she was put to death. As might have been expected,

Swegen came again the next year more angry than ever, and burnt Wilton and Sarum. The atrocity of S. Brice's day was but one of a multitude of foul deeds to which the king was instigated by Eadric Streona, a man of low birth, who became his chief favourite, and to whom he gave his daughter Edith in marriage. It was through this man that in the year 1006, Ælfhelm, earl of Deira, was treacherously murdered and his two sons had their eyes put out.

Ælfric, who succeeded archbishop Sigeric in 994, died at the end of 1005; and among the many bequests in his will is one of a cross to S. Alphege. Early in 1006, S. Alphege was appointed to the see of Canterbury; and it was to bear a heavy cross indeed. Everything was now as bad as it could be. The whole of Wessex was ravaged, and the Danes were now in one part of the country, now in another. If an army was raised, it was either withdrawn from where it was wanted, or it was betrayed to the enemy. If the king and the Witan did settle upon something, "it did not stand for a month; and next there was no captain to gather troops; and each man fled as he could and there was no shire that would help another."

At Canterbury, the extraordinary zeal and piety of S. Alphege were no less conspicuous than they

had been at Winchester, and very soon he had to act the part of the good shepherd to the fullest extent in comforting his flock.

In 1011, the Danes, who had not yet ventured to attack Canterbury, marched from Sandwich to take it.\* The citizens were dismayed; some were for flying and the chief men urgently advised the archbishop to escape, but he would neither leave the city nor act the part of a hireling by forsaking his sheep, so he called the inhabitants together and exhorted them to do all they could to defend their city. He reminded them of the firmness and endurance of saints and martyrs, bid them prepare for a desperate struggle and then having armed them with his blessing and the Divine Sacraments he dismissed them to their posts. The city was but ill provided to sustain a siege and they soon became short of provisions. S. Alphege then sent a message to the besiegers, entreating them to have pity upon an innocent people who had done them no wrong and cease from hostilities, but in reply the siege was pushed on more vigorously than ever. For twenty days the inhabitants had succeeded in

\* According to Osbern, Eadric joined the Danes in the taking of Canterbury, because one of his brothers had been killed by the thanes of Kent. It is not however in accordance with history that Eadric went openly over to the enemy quite so soon.

resisting the impetuous assaults of the Danes, when at last they were beaten by treachery, deceit and stratagem. To Ælfmar, abbot of S. Augustine's, whose life the archbishop had saved when he was accused before the king of treason, is attached the atrocious guilt of having betrayed the city. A fire in one part of the town served to distract the attention of the inhabitants, while the enemy rushed in at another; then followed a horrible scene of carnage, and not only did the Danes commit every sort of cruelty, but it is said that nine out of ten of the inhabitants were butchered, and many were carried into slavery.

The venerable Alphege threw himself between the murderers and their helpless victims, crying out, "If you are men, spare at least the innocent and unresisting; or if you want a victim, turn your swords upon me; it is I who have so often reproved you with your crimes, that have supported and redeemed the prisoners you have made, and have deprived you of many of your soldiers by converting them to Christianity."

His earnest entreaties were thrown away; but they knew him well enough, for he had been sent to them on various embassies, and whether it was that they dare not strike him, or that they already had conceived the idea of extorting a large sum for

his ransom, they carried him away a prisoner. The Saxon Chronicle thus mentions his capture :—

They went to their ships and led the archbishop with them.

He then was captive	Where man erewhile
He that ere was	Welcomed bliss,
Angle-kin's head	In that hapless city
And Christendom's.	Whence to us came first
Then man might there	Christendom and bliss
See wretchedness	Before God and the world.

And they had the archbishop with them so long as to that time that they martyred him.

Canterbury and its cathedral were given up to the flames, and the place from which the Gospel had been spread through all the land, was in the hands of pagans, and now it was felt that the greatest calamity of all these cruel wars had come.

The following spring, that is in 1012, there was a conference in London between the English and the Danes, and tribute to the amount of forty-eight thousand pounds was paid to the latter. The release of S. Alphege, who had now been in prison seven months, was no part of the bargain, for when the Danes had received the money, they according to their custom had a carousal, and when they had eaten and drunk to the full, they sent for the archbishop—some say, in order that he might afford them sport, others, in order to urge him to pay a ransom of three thousand pounds. The Saxon

Chronicle, written within eleven years after, thus relates the circumstances :—

MXII. In this year came Eadric the alderman and all the chief men of the Witan, clergy and laity of the English kin, to London-borough before Easter. Easter day was that year on the Ides of April [April 13th]; and they were there so long as till all the tribute was paid; that was forty-eight thousand pounds. Then on the Saturday was the host greatly excited against the bishop, for that he would not promise them any money, and forbade that any one should pay anything for him. They were also very drunk, for there was wine brought from the south. Then they took the bishop and led him to their husting on the Sun-eve, the octave of the Passover, and there pelted him with bones and neats' heads, and one of them then slew him with an axe iron on the head, so that he sank down under the blow, and his holy blood fell upon the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom. And on the morrow they carried the dead body to London; and the bishops Eadnoth [of Dorchester], and Ælfhūn [of London], and the town-folk, took him with all reverence and buried him in Saint Paul's minster; and there God now shows forth the holy martyr's mighty powers.

We get a few more details from other sources, and it would seem that on this Saturday in Easter week, April 19, archbishop Alphege was rudely dragged before the drunken pagans. As he was hurried into the hall he was saluted with loud cries of "Money bishop, money or we will to-day make you a gazingstock before the world." S. Alphege, we may well believe, was weary of the sufferings of his country, and would not allow any further loss on account of a life which could not, in the

ordinary course of nature, continue long. Having rested a few moments to recover his breath, he rose with dignity and said, "Silver or gold I have none, but what I have to give, that I freely offer—the riches of divine wisdom; so that forsaking the vanities you have chosen, you may now be converted to the knowledge of the one, living, true, and eternal God. If you do not heed the call to repentance, a more fearful judgment than that of Sodom is to come, and from which there will be no escape."

The Danes were enraged at this reply, and one more heartless than the rest threw an ox bone with all his might at the defenceless and venerable man. Amidst derisive shouts of laughter, the cowardly example was quickly followed; and now the bones, the remains of the disorderly feast, of which the floor furnished a plentiful supply, were hurled at the archbishop thick and fast till he fell in an agony of pain. Then raising his eyes up to heaven he prayed and said—"O good Shepherd! O singular good Shepherd! do Thou watch over the children of Thy Church whom I commend to Thee with my last breath."

A Dane named Thrum, whom S. Alphege had converted and baptized in prison and confirmed only the day before, moved by a barbarous kind

of pity, in order to put an end to his sufferings, struck him on the head with his battle-axe. The uneducated man did as he would have done to a favourite horse or dog in the agony of death.\*

Thus died S. Alphege in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was a simple-minded man with little knowledge of the world; bold and uncompromising, indeed, in all that concerned God's honour, but his early life as a recluse and long retirement, were not the sort of training necessary to enable a man not only to hold his own, but to influence others in those days of evil counsel and misgovernment. He was all gentleness and humility, and he lived far too much in heaven to become an earthly politician. Thus he was a very great contrast to S. Dunstan who was brought up at court, and who seems to have been born to organize and govern, and became a great statesman as well as an eminent ecclesiastic.

\* Thietmar bishop of Merseburg, a German historian who lived at the time, and who says he had the account from a man who had just come from England, relates that Thurkill a Danish earl tried to save him, but that the other Danes would not let him. This is very probable, for Thietmar makes Thurkill speak of "the Lord's anointed" as if he were a Christian. He certainly was a Christian afterwards. But it is not probable that S. Alphege promised to pay the Danes money to let him go, and fixed the day, and then when the time came, said he had no money, as Thietmar asserts. It is not likely that he made such a promise, still less that he broke it.

The martyrdom of S. Alphege is said to have taken place at Greenwich on the spot where the church dedicated to him now stands. Two other churches in Kent, and one in London and one in Warwickshire are dedicated to him. He is commemorated in the English calendar on April 19, the day of his death. In art he is usually represented with his chasuble full of stones, and sometimes with a battle-axe in his hand.

In 1023, king Cnut was prevailed upon by his pious queen Emma to make some amends for the cruelty and sacrilege which his father's people had committed. The body of S. Alphege was taken from London to Canterbury on June 15, and deposited in his own Cathedral. There was now seen a far different spectacle to that of eleven years before. The barge of the Danish king was nobly painted, and adorned with golden ornaments that it might receive on board the body of the saint, which on the way was preceded and surrounded by a Danish guard of honour, and followed by the chief members of the Danish court. The Saxon Chronicle thus records the event :—

MXXIII, June 15. Archbishop Æthelnoth, and bishop Ælf-sige, and bishop Bryhtwine, and all those who were with him, deposited S. Ælfheah's holy body on the north side of CHRYS's altar, to the glory of God and the honour of the holy archbishop, and to the eternal health of all who there with devout heart and

with all humility, daily seek his holy body. May God Almighty have mercy on all Christian men through S. Ælfheah's holy merits.

To do further honour to the saint, king Cnut and queen Emma enriched Canterbury cathedral with many costly gifts.

As the Saxon Chronicle indicates, he was from the first looked upon as a martyr. After the Norman conquest, Lanfranc the archbishop, an Italian, was not well satisfied with the calendar of Saxon saints, and particularly with the honour paid to the memory of S. Alphege; of which he one day complained to his friend Anselm, who succeeded him as archbishop. "How unreasonable is it," he said, "to call this man a martyr, who died not for the Christian faith, but because he would not ransom his life from the enemy!" "Nay," replied Anselm, "it is certain that he who chose rather to die than offend God by a small offence, would much rather have died than provoke him by a greater sin. Alphege would not ransom his life, because he would not allow his dependents to be distressed by losing their property for him; much less, therefore, would he have denied his Saviour, if the fury of the people had attempted by fear of death to force him to such a crime. He who dies for the cause of truth and righteousness is a martyr, as S. John Baptist was; who suffered, not because he would not deny

CHRIST, but because he resolved, in maintaining the law of God, not to shrink from speaking the truth." There was much wisdom and charity in this answer ; and S. Alphege has a better claim to the title of saint and martyr, than many whom the pope has canonized.\*

\* Churton's *Early English Church.*





## CYNEWULF OR KĒNULF.

A.D. 1006.

**B**ISHOP Cynewulf is said to have been one of the most remarkable of the literary men of the time. Hugo Candidus the historian of Peterborough, says that he was made abbot of Peterborough, after being a monk in the monastery at Winchester. He was eminent for his gentleness and personal humility to dependents, for his constant application to study, and also for his care of the affairs of the monastery of Peterborough; he it was who first built walls round it—a very necessary work in those times—and gave it the name “Burch” or Borough.

When Cynewulf had been abbot fourteen years, on the promotion of S. Alphege to Canterbury in the beginning of 1006, he was, against his own wish, appointed to the bishopric of Winchester, and Ælfsi succeeded him at Peterborough.

This is a very different account to that given by William of Malmesbury, who says that Cynewulf gave money to get S. Alphege out of Winchester—a very improbable story. Godwin also accuses him of having obtained the bishopric by corrupt means, but apparently for no other reason than because he died the same year he was made bishop, observing that he did not long enjoy his dear bought preferment, and that ill-gotten goods seldom prosper. It is probable that William of Malmesbury was altogether mistaken in the man and had got hold of a story about some one else—Elsius, perhaps, as this alias has been given him.

There are two manuscripts extant ; one known as the *Vercelli Book*, because it was discovered in 1823, by Dr. Friedrich Blume in a monastery at Vercelli in Italy ; the other known as the *Exeter Book*, because it is in the Chapter Library of Exeter cathedral, to which it was given by bishop Leofric between the years 1046 and 1073. In the Exeter Book there is a fine poem of nearly 3,400 lines by Cynewulf on CHRIST, and another long one called the Legend of S. Juliana. In the Vercelli Book there is a Legend of S. Helen in nearly 3,000 lines also by Cynewulf.

The poem on CHRIST begins with the praise of Him as the Corner Stone that the builders rejected,

and with looking to CHRIST from the prison of this world. Then the mystery of the pure birth of the Saviour is dwelt upon, and the praise of the Virgin—"the delight of women among all the hosts of heaven." The Nativity is approached in a dialogue between Joseph and Mary; the coming of CHRIST into the world is welcomed; the descent into hell is considered in connection with the liberation of the souls who there awaited the Redemption; then follow the Resurrection and Ascension; and the poem concludes with hymns of praise for all the blessings of this life—the sun and moon, the dew and rain, the increase of the earth, and the salvation of the soul through CHRIST.

It is by no means certain that Cynewulf, bishop of Winchester, is the author of these poems; they have been attributed to him, but they have also been ascribed to a bishop of Lindisfarne of the same name who died in 780. The Exeter manuscript does not however appear very ancient or of a date much anterior to Leofric; so that, unless it be a copy, the poems may perhaps be more justly ascribed to the literary abbot of Peterborough, afterwards bishop of Winchester, than to the earlier bishop of Lindisfarne. Whoever the writer may be, there is at any rate no question about his name, which he has associated with his work by a play-

ful device, scattering the letters of it in a conspicuous manner over some short passage in each of his longer poems.

Bishop Cynewulf, held the bishopric less than twelve months, as he died the same year he was appointed. He was buried in his cathedral and his remains were afterwards placed in the same chest with those of bishop Helmstan. (See inscription, page 62.) His alias "Kênulf" is but an abbreviation of the Latin Kynulphus.





## ÆTHELWALD, II.

A.D. 1006-1015.

**T**HIS bishop is sometimes called Æthelwald, sometimes Brihtwold. In a life of Edward the Confessor in Latin verse, written in the reign of Henry VI, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a Brittwald is mentioned, said to have been bishop of Winchester. But there has been evidently a mixing up of two different persons. There was about this time an abbot of the New Minster, named Brihtwold, and a bishop of Wilton of the same name; "Wilton" and "Winton" are not very unlike, and hence possibly the mistake.

Æthelwald had been more than five years at Winchester when the martyrdom of S. Alphege took place. In 1013, the year after that sad event, Swegen came to England bent upon making a total conquest. He burned and massacred more cruelly

than he had ever done before. He took Oxford again—it had been burned only three years before; then he went to Winchester, here, the citizens taking warning by the fate of Canterbury and Oxford, made peace and gave hostages. It does not appear that bishop Æthelwald took any part in the negotiations though it is not likely that anything would be done without him. From Winchester, Swegen went to London, there he was repulsed by Thurkill who was now in the service of king Æthelred. But after a time, when the people of London saw that Swegen had won all England save their own city, they thought it was no use holding out any longer, and they too submitted and gave hostages.

King Æthelred, upon this, sent the lady Emma and his two sons, Edward and Alfred, to Duke Richard in Normandy, and he followed soon after.

There is a story told of bishop Æthelwald that one night being late at his prayers, he chanced to think of the low ebb of the blood royal of England, which now was almost all consumed and brought to nothing. While he was thus cogitating, he fell asleep and it seemed to him that he saw S. Peter crowning the Ætheling Edward, who was at that time in exile in Normandy. It was also shown how he should reign twenty-four years and then die without issue. The bishop then (as he thought)

asked him who should reign next, to which this answer was made, "The kingdom of England is God's kingdom and He will provide a king for it." This is also said to have happened to Brihtwold bishop of Wilton, and with more probability, if it was after the death of Alfred, Edward's brother.

On the flight of Æthelred, Swegen was king, or tyrant as Florence calls him, over all England, and the first Dane who governed it. But he did not long enjoy his greatness, for about Candlemas next year, 1014, he died. His death, according to Florence, was in this wise :—

Swegen, who did not believe in S. Edmund and mocked at him, sent to the priests of S. Edmund's Bury, saying, "Give me a great sum of money or I will come and burn your town and all the folk that are in it; and I will pull down your minster to the ground, and the priests and clerks I will put to death with all manner of tortures." Swegen sat on a goodly horse and went forward at the head of his host. While speaking to his captains, he saw one coming towards him like an armed man with a spear in his hand; but no one saw him but Swegen. Then Swegen cried out, "Help, help, my soldiers, for lo, the holy king Edmund cometh against me to slay me." So Saint Edmund smote Swegen the tyrant with his spear, so that he fell

from his horse, and died that night in great pain and anguish. Thus, it is added, did Saint Edmund avenge his minster.\*

When Swegen was dead, the Danes chose his son Cnut to succeed him, but the Witan sent for Æthelred, who returned to England before Lent was over. As soon as he was come back, he sent an invitation to any who would enter his pay, to join him in recovering his country. Amongst those who accepted this summons, was Olaf a Norwegian, not the Olaf whom S. Alphege confirmed, but Olaf afterwards known as the patron saint of Norway. He came with a fleet to London, which was in the hands of the Danes. There were fortifications on the Southwark side of the river, and communication between these and the castle on the north, was kept up by means of a well-defended bridge. It was found that nothing could be done until the bridge was taken. Æthelred called his chiefs together to consult how they should destroy it. Olaf said he would lay his fleet alongside of it if the other ships would do the same. He roofed over his ships with timber strong enough to resist the stones which were hurled down upon them, then he brought his fleet quite under the bridge

\* Swegen had once been a Christian, if he was now conscience-stricken, it might be said that saint Edmund had killed him.

and fastened the cables round the piles which supported it, and when this was done, rowed as hard as they could down the stream. The piles were shaken, the bridge gave way, and the greater part of the men who were upon it fell into the river. After this Southwark was taken and the Danes in London surrendered.\*

Olaf next took Canterbury from the Danes, and in the end drove Cnut out of the country. Æthelred ordered that Olaf should be paid 21,000, or some say 30,000 pounds for his services, and this was thought as great a grievance as if the Danes had remained.

\* London Bridge is broken down,  
Gold is won, and bright renown,  
Shields resounding,  
War-horns sounding,  
Women shouting in the din!  
Arrows singing,  
Mail coats ringing—  
Odin makes our Olaf win!

*Ottar Swart.*

At London Bridge stout Olaf gave  
Odin's law to his war-men brave—  
"To win or die!"  
Their foemen fly.  
Some by the dyke-side refuge gain—  
Some in their tents on Southwark plain!  
This sixth attack  
Brought victory back.

*Sigvat the Scald.*

The next year, 1015, Cnut came again and a meeting of the Witan was held at Oxford, to which came Sigferth and Morkere, thanes of the Danish Burhs. Eadric invited these two to his house and had them murdered. Their retainers took refuge in the tower of S. Frideswide's minster, now Christ Church. Eadric set fire to the tower and burned them there. The king seems to have approved of the murder, for he seized the goods of the thanes and sent Sigferth's widow, Ealdgyth, a prisoner to Malmesbury. She was of high rank and said to be remarkable for her beauty, and Edmund, Æthelred's son, followed her to Malmesbury and married her without his father's knowledge.

Edmund was a man of very great strength and daring and on that account he was called by his men *Ironside*; he took possession of the property of Sigferth and Morkere and then raised an army against Cnut, but though he fought both well and bravely, he was out-manœuvred by the treachery of Eadric.

In all this there is little about our bishop, we know in fact very little of him; but it is necessary to notice *pari passu* the exciting events of English history, so that when our biography comes in contact with any of the prominent actors in them, we may at least know where we are.

Æthelwald's death is supposed to have taken place in 1015, but there is no certainty about the date. If it is a fact that Æthelwald ordained Ælfwine, afterwards bishop of Winchester, on the conclusion of peace between Edmund and Cnut in 1016, his death must have taken place later.





## ÆLSIGE.

A.D. 1015-1032.

**W**E know very little about this bishop. If we are correct in making his appointment take place in 1015, it would be the year before the death of Æthelred, who died in London on S. George's day, April 23, 1016, and was buried in S. Paul's minster.

On the death of Æthelred the people of London at once chose Edmund Ironside to be king, and he was crowned in S. Paul's by archbishop Lyfing. But at Southampton which, with all Wessex, was in the hands of the Danes, the chief men were all favourable to Cnut and swore allegiance to him, so that there was a double election.

Edmund was a bold and intrepid warrior, and under him the English did all they could to free the country and fought well; indeed for the few months he was king, there was nothing but hard fighting

between the rival kings. Battles were fought at Pen Selwood, Sherstone, Brentford, Otford, and Assandun. Eadric, who had most unwisely been allowed to fight on the side of the English, in the middle of the last battle went over with his men to the enemy, causing great loss to the English. Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester and Wulfsige abbot of Ramsey who had come to pray for king Edmund and his host, were slain at Assandun.

After this, the two kings met near Deerhurst in an island of the Severn called Olney; there Edmund proposed that instead of fighting a sixth battle, they two should fight in single combat and settle who should be king.\* Cnut declined this because he was a small man while Edmund was tall and strong, and said that as each of them had a claim to the kingdom, the fairest way would be to divide it. Edmund at last agreed, hostages were given and they swore to be brothers to each other.

On S. Andrew's day, November 30, in the same year king Edmund died, having reigned only seven months. It was generally believed that he was murdered by Eadric. He left two sons, Edmund and Edward, supposed to be twins. His body was laid by his grandfather Edgar at Glastonbury.

\* Some accounts say nothing about this proposition of Edmund's but only that peace was made.

A great council of bishops and chief men now met in London and acknowledged Cnut as king of all England, and he too was crowned in S. Paul's minster by archbishop Lyfing. Cnut had given his 'handselled' pledge of peace and protection, and all enmities were to be buried in oblivion; and if we may judge by his deeds in general, this promise was fairly kept, for the cruelties with which he is credited at the commencement of his reign were very probably the work of such evil counsellors as Eadric Streona, on whom retribution soon fell. He was a man who always tried to be second in power no matter who held the first place, but Cnut was not to be trifled with.

The following year, 1017, Cnut and Eadric had some words and the latter is reported to have reproached his patron thus:—

"Lo I forsook Edmund my king and my brother for thy sake, and for thy sake I slew him; and thus it is that thou rewardest me."

Then was king Cnut very wroth with Eadric, and filled with indignation, he said, "Now shalt thou die, and justly; since thou art guilty of treason both to God and me, for thou hast slain thine own lord, and my brother who was bound to me by an oath. Thy blood be upon thy head, for thy mouth hath witnessed against thee that thou hast lifted up

thine hand against the Lord's anointed." To avoid any tumult the king had Eadric strangled there in the chamber, and his body was thrown out of the window into the river Thames. One account says this took place on Christmas day.

Some time in the same year, 1017, Cnut married Emma, the widow of Æthelred, and had two children by her, Harthacnut and Gunhild.

King Cnut was a Christian and, in 1027, made a pilgrimage to Rome, from whence he addressed a letter to the people of England, giving an account of his journey and containing much good practical advice. Amongst other things, he charges all his governors not to make the king's needs an excuse for any wrong, for, he says, "I have no need of money gathered by unrighteousness." With the assistance of archbishop Æthelnoth, he remodelled the old English laws, and in his new code, religion and statute still go hand in hand. It begins in this way: "First, let men above all other things ever love one God, and with one mind hold the one Christian faith, and love with truth king Cnut."

Cnut and Thurkill together, built a minster at Assandun where they won their great victory, and gave it to Stigand who was afterwards bishop of Winchester. Cnut himself, with his own hands, took up the body of S. Alphege when he was about

to remove it to Canterbury, and as related in the life of that bishop, conducted it with great ceremonial. Several bishops assisted and Ælfsige is one of those who are mentioned by name.

Though little is said about Ælfsige,—perhaps he did not seek notoriety—he must have been at Winchester, a person of great influence. We are told that at Winchester king Cnut displayed all the magnificence of his liberality; here he gave to such an extent, that the quantity of the precious metals astonished strangers; and the sparkling of jewels dazzled the eyes of all beholders.

Cnut took a journey to Glastonbury that he might visit the remains of his brother Edmund, as he called him, and pray at his tomb. He was very liberal to Glastonbury, to the churches at Bury S. Edmund's, and other places, and he was especially fond of the abbey of Ely. One day, when he was going there by water, he heard the voices of the monks singing in the choir and was so much pleased that he thereupon composed a song in English, of which only the first verse is extant. A very little alteration will turn it into modern English :—

Merry sung the monks in Ely  
When king Cnut was rowing by;  
Row then knights, the land along,  
Of these monks, we hear the song.

There is a well-known story told of king Cnut, that one day when he was on the sea-shore and his courtiers were speaking of his power and greatness, he had a chair placed close to the water's edge and thus addressed the waves, "O sea I am thy lord and thou art my kingdom; the dry land is also mine, stay then and rise not, obey my command."

The waves rolled on and compelled the king to retreat. Then he turned to those who were with him and said, "You see now how weak the power of an earthly king is compared with that Power by Whom the elements are ruled. Honour then God, for Him all things obey."

After this, he would not wear his crown any more, but placed it on the head of an image of our LORD in Winchester cathedral.

There is nothing further to add about bishop Ælfsige. Some say he was translated to Canterbury, his name having been confused with that of archbishop Eadsige, who was chaplain to king Harold after Ælfsige was dead. Ælfsige is sometimes called Eadsin, this may have been either the cause or the consequence of the mistake.

The Saxon Chronicle thus records his death:—

MXXXII. Ælfsige died and Ælfwine the king's priest succeeded to the see,

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## ALWINE.

A.D. 1032-1047.

**I**N the Saxon Chronicle, the name of this bishop is Ælfwine, the name no doubt by which he was known in England, but it could not have been his real one, as he was a Norman. When the lady Emma came to England in 1002, as the wife of Æthelred, Duke Richard, her father, sent Alwine with her to look after her interests and take care of her. He was of noble family and related to her, and he appears to have been well received, for he was made commander of the province of Southampton, some say with the title of earl, and for several years he was engaged in vigorously fighting against the Danes.

It is said that when peace was made between Edmund Ironside and Cnut, Alwine resigned his command and was invested with the order of S. Benedict by bishop Æthelwald, who out of respect

for his position and rank, himself admitted him. It is also said that Alwine had been a monk nineteen years when he was made bishop. The two statements do not agree, for according to the latter, his retirement took place in 1013, the year that Æthelred ran away and Swegen became king. And it is most probable that this was the time when he became a monk and “preferred to fight under a heavenly King,” when his earthly sovereign had deserted him. At this time too, Æthelwald was living and could have admitted him into the monastery at Winchester.

We hear nothing more of Alwine for the next nineteen years, except that in the early days of his monastic life, he filled the office of Sacristan, and that in the latter, he was the king’s chaplain until, through the mediation of Emma, he became bishop in 1032.\*

On the eleventh of November 1035, king Cnut died at Shaftesbury, being only forty years of age. He was buried in Winchester cathedral, and the third chest on the south side of the choir had at one time this inscription :—

*Sic jacent ossa Cnutonis et Willielmi Ruffi.*

but now it has this,—“In hac et altera é regione

\* One of the same name was abbot of the New Minster, but as he was abbot from 1035 till 1057, he could not be the bishop.

cistâ, reliquiæ sunt ossium Canuti at Rufi Regum ;  
Emmæ Reginæ, Winæ at Alwini Episcoporum.”

On the death of Cnut, the Wise Men met at Oxford to choose a king ; but the council was divided. Earl Leofric and the northern thanes were for Harold, a son of Cnut by Ælfgifu the daughter of earl Ælfhelm ; while earl Godwine\* and the West Saxons were for Harthacnut, Cnut's son by Emma. In the end, the kingdom was divided and Harold reigned in the north, and Harthacnut was king in the south ; but as he was also the king of Denmark and lived there, the lady Emma and earl Godwine were the real rulers.

Things being in this state, Alfred the son of Æthelred, thought he might have a chance for the crown, and in 1036 he came over to England from Normandy, where he had been living. Earl Godwine met him at Guildford, for what object is not known, and soon after he was seized by some of Harold's men, taken to Ely, where his eyes were put out, and where death soon ended his sufferings. Both Godwine and Emma were suspected of having something to do with this foul deed.

In 1037, as Harthacnut was still in Denmark, Harold was proclaimed as full king of all England,

\* A man of obscure birth, but by his own ability and some good qualities he raised himself and became earl of Wessex.

but there was no real election, and Æthelnoth the archbishop declined to crown him. He placed the crown and sceptre on the altar and then addressed Harold thus, "I will neither give them to you nor prevent you taking them; but I cannot give you my blessing." Harold died March 17, 1040, and was buried at Westminster—the first king who was buried there.

Harthacnut was now made king, and messengers were sent to bring him over. So he came to England with a fleet of sixty ships, and in order to keep it up, the first thing he did was to lay a heavy tax upon the country. Corn rose to an enormous price, and the clergy were compelled to sell the church plate to pay the taxes. He had the body of Harold dug up and thrown into the river Thames.\* He accused Godwine and Lyfing, bishop of Worcester, of being concerned in the death of Alfred; the latter he expelled, and he made the former buy his pardon at the price of a ship splendidly ornamented and manned by a crew of eighty men superbly armed. He burned Worcester and its minster because the people would not pay the tax, and deprived the new bishop and reinstated Lyfing. Such were Harthacnut's arbitrary measures.

\* The body, it is supposed, was found by a fisherman and buried in the Danish cemetery.

The only thing he seems to have done which was not really bad, was the sending for his half-brother Edward, who came and lived at court. On June 8, 1042, Harthacnut died suddenly at Lambeth,\* at the wedding feast of a daughter of Osgood Clapa. He was buried at Winchester, and an inscription on the wall under king Cynegil's chest states that—

*Qui jacet hic Regni Sceptrum tulit Harthacnutus,  
Emmae Cnutonis gnatus et ipse fuit.*

When Edward heard of Harthacnut's death, he desired to return to Normandy; for his heart was not set upon the world, and the cares of government were distasteful to a mind musing upon heavenly things. From his infancy he had devoted much time to prayer; he loved the companionship of churchmen, and he was in the habit of assisting at the holy Sacrifice daily. Earl Godwine, with some difficulty prevailed upon him to remain, while he easily persuaded the people, who were sick of such kings as Harold and Harthacnut, to elect Edward, and have again a king who was one of them. We are told that all with one voice chose Edward to be king. He was crowned with great pomp at Winchester at Easter 1043, by archbishop Eadsige, and Godwine took a prominent part.

\* It has been suggested that it was at Clapham, *Clapa-ham*, the *hame* or home of Clapa.

Godwine became the king's chief adviser, and nearly two years after his coronation, in January 1045, Edward married Godwine's daughter Edith. It has been intimated that the marriage was entirely arranged by Godwine. It certainly does seem as if he was dragged into it against his inclination, for it is more than hinted that he never lived with Edith as his wife, and he certainly had no children by her. And yet according to every account, she was well-informed, gentle, amiable, upright and of great beauty; perhaps her father was rough and stern in manner, for it was a saying that, "As the thorn the rose, so Godwine begat Edith."

In choosing Edward, the people thought they were choosing an English king; but he had lived all his life in Normandy and was far more French than English in his ideas. Nothing would do but he must bring over to England his Norman friends and put them into the highest offices, as if there were none in England good enough to fill them. The French language, or 'Romance' as it was then called, became the language of the court, and in this way England was becoming Norman before the conquest.

Among those whom Edward introduced from abroad was Robert, abbot of Jumièges, who was first, bishop of London and afterwards archbishop

of Canterbury. He spread a calumnious report about Emma, who was at that time called the Old Lady, or queen dowager, as we should say. King Edward and his mother were not on good terms, it is supposed that she cared more for her children by Cnut, than for her sons by Æthelred. Robert may have taken advantage of this ill-feeling against her when he charged her—with being too familiar with bishop Alwine,—with being accessory to the death of her son Alfred,—and with throwing impediments in the way of the succession of Edward. The ground-work of the base insinuation which formed the first charge was, no doubt, the great friendship and regard which had subsisted between Emma and the bishop.

By command of the king, archbishop Eadsige convened a synod, at which it was determined—Emma consenting—that she should undergo the trial of the fiery ordeal.

Though the Saxon Chronicle records the king's harsh behaviour to his mother, it says nothing of the ordeal, neither do Willam of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon, therefore the story is generally discredited, and especially because of Emma's age. Edward came to the throne forty years after his father married Emma, so that she could not be less than fifty-seven and might be much more.

An account of the trial is however given by such historians as Ralph Higden, John of Brompton and Henry de Knighton ; though it has been suggested that it is only the legend of S. Kunegund as altered by the minstrels.

It is related that, the evening before the ordeal was to take place, bishop Alwine came from the abbey of Wherwell to Winchester, and spent the whole night in the cathedral in fervent prayer to God. In the morning when all was prepared, the lady Emma was led blindfold by two bishops to the place where the plough-shares, glowing with red heat, were laid. Then the building resounded with the loud cries of the assembled people calling upon God to preserve the royal lady, and their cries were re-echoed through the city by the multitudes outside who were unable to gain admittance.

Emma raised her face towards heaven, and as she slowly walked on, made this prayer, "O God Who didst save Susannah from the malice of the wicked elders, and the three children from the furnace of fire, save me, for the sake of thy holy servant saint Swithun, from the fire prepared for me."

She was seen to tread upon the red-hot irons, but she was not sensible that she had touched them, for when she had come almost to the end, she said to the bishops who attended her, "When shall I

come to the plough shares?" They told her that she had already passed them. Then the cathedral shook with acclamations of joy and thanksgiving.

The king alone was overwhelmed with grief, and he weeping sank on the ground. Emma was conducted to him, and he entreated her forgiveness in terms of the utmost humility, expressing his sorrow for all the injurious suspicions he had entertained. Emma and bishop Alwine were then put into full possession of their former rights, and ever after enjoyed the royal favour.

Emma, in gratitude for her deliverance, gave to the cathedral nine manors—as many as the number of the plough shares—namely, Bransbury, Fifield, Bergefield, Hogton, Michelmersh, Ivingho, Weregravys, Hayling, and Wycombe. Bishop Alwine gave also nine—Stoneham, East Meon, West Meon, Hinton, Witney, Yelinge, Millbrook, Polhampton, and Hoddington. King Edward gave three—Portland, Wyke Regis and Weymouth. Thus was the cathedral greatly enriched.

Nothing more is known of bishop Alwine except that he gave £1500—a very large sum at that time—to the cathedral. Having held the bishopric fifteen years, he died August 29, 1047, and was buried in the crypt of the cathedral to the south of the high altar. His remains were afterwards

removed to where the following inscription on the south wall of the choir indicates his tomb.

Alwinus obiit, A.D. 1047.  
Hic jacet Alwini corpus, qui munera nobis  
Contulit egregia, parcite Christo pio,





## STIGAND.

A.D. 1047-1070.

**W**HEN king Cnut and Thurkill built a minster at Assandun on the site of the great battle, the priest appointed to pray there for the souls of the slain, was Stigand, chaplain to the lady Emma, then the wife of Cnut. This is the first glimpse we get of Stigand, and we do not hear of him again till he was appointed to the united dioceses of Elmham and Dunwich, in East Anglia, at the beginning of the reign of king Edward in 1042. He was consecrated in April 1043, by archbishop Eadsige. The Saxon Chronicle states that he was soon after deprived; but that in 1044, he returned to his bishopric.

Matthew of Westminster makes his appointment to Elmham to have taken place in 1038, in the reign of Harold, then when Harthacnut came to the throne, who turned out most of his brother's

friends; Stigand was deprived with the rest ; but when Edward became king he was restored. This sounds probable, but it does not agree with the Saxon Chronicle which distinctly says that Stigand was consecrated in 1043, then deprived, and in 1044 restored. Neither does it fit in with a story about king Edward going to S. Edmund's Bury in the first year of his reign and making Stigand his chaplain, and that he was soon after made bishop of the East Angles.

In 1047, on the death of Alwine, Stigand was made bishop of Winchester. He may have been in some measure clever, and he is said to have been ambitious, but he was not a learned man. Learning does not seem to have been a necessary qualification for a bishopric at that time. Ulf, a Norman, who was appointed to the bishopric of Dorchester in 1049, was so illiterate that he could hardly read the church service, he was in addition a bad man. Then when archbishop Eadsige died in 1050, the monks of Christ church elected Ælfric an Englishman, and Godwine urged the king to confirm the election, but he would not listen to his advice, or regard the rights of the electors, but without any consideration, thrust upon them his Norman ally and favourite Robert who had now been six years bishop of London.

In the year 1051, some of the king's foreign friends wanted to force themselves uninvited upon the people of Dover. The consequence was a skirmish in which about twenty persons were killed. The king was so incensed that he ordered Godwine to march at once with his troops upon Dover and chastise the town. Godwine refused to stain his hands with blood in such a matter. He said if the men of Dover had committed a crime, they ought to be brought to trial, and not punished in that way. On the other hand, he took an opportunity of demanding that the king should send away his Norman friends.

But the king's party were too powerful for him, he was disgraced and outlawed instead, and had, with his sons, to take refuge at Bruges. As soon as Godwine was gone, Edward stripped his wife Edith of all her goods and put her in the nunnery at Wherwell. He surrounded himself more than ever with Normans, and invited over his cousin William duke of Normandy, who was now about twenty-three years old—an enterprising man and a good ruler in his own country. When William arrived and saw so many Frenchmen in England he must have felt quite at home, and probably about that time began to entertain the idea of succeeding to the throne of England.

In the following year, 1052, Emma the king's mother died at Winchester and was buried by the side of her second husband, Cnut. On the north wall of the choir there is this inscription to her memory :—

*Sic Emmam cista Reginam continet ista,  
 Dixit Etheldredus Rex hanc, et postea Canutum,  
 Edwardum peperit hæc, ac Hardi-canutum.  
 Quatuor hos Reges hæc bedit sceptra tenentes ;  
 Anglorum Regum fuit hæc sic mater et uxor. \**

Things did not go on well while Godwine was away, and he began to think of returning. The king of France and Baldwin earl of Flanders both pleaded for him, but to no purpose ; so at last he came back without leave and his sons with him. He got together a fleet strong enough to sail up to London, where he arrived on September 14, 1052. The king could not get any to take up arms against him, for the English soldiers and sailors would not fight under their Norman chiefs against the English earl. They said, " Shall we Englishmen slay one another, only that these outlandish folk may the more reign over us ? "

\* This chest contains queen Emma, who as wife King Ethelred first married, then Canute, Edward and Harthacnut, both were her sons. These four she saw the royal sceptre bear ; Thus wife and mother both, of English kings.

While Godwine was with difficulty keeping his men quiet, bishop Stigand with some others came forward and succeeded in making peace. A council was held at which Godwine was reinstated as earl of Wessex and his sons taken back into favour, all the Frenchmen, except a few, were outlawed because they had made mischief between the king and the earls. The king also sent for Edith and restored her to her former dignity.

The two French bishops, Robert of Canterbury and Ulf of Dorchester, happened to be in London at the time, and when they learned how matters stood, they mounted their horses and galloped out of the town, cutting down with their swords all who opposed them; they made their way to the coast and set sail in the first vessel they met with and never came back. Bishop Stigand who had been the first to propose peace, was now asked to take charge of the diocese of Canterbury, and he held it along with that of Winchester.

Next year, 1053, at Easter, earl Godwine died while feasting with the king. There was an idle tale invented concerning his death, by the Normans who hated him. According to this tale, Godwine and the king were sitting at table when the cup-bearer's foot slipped, but he just saved himself by putting out his other foot. Godwine, amused at

this, made the remark that "So brother helpeth brother."

King Edward said, "And I had a brother once who might have helped me; but he is dead through earl Godwine's treason."

Godwine replied, "Many a time O king, have I been charged by thee with this murder of thy brother Alfred; now I call God to witness that I am innocent. May this morsel of bread choke me if I had any hand in the blinding or death of Alfred thy brother."

As he spoke, he took a piece of bread from the table and put it to his mouth, and it stuck in his throat and he fell down and died.

Such is the story; and Godwine was no doubt taken ill at the banquet, but the truth seems to be that he was carried from the table into another room where he lingered four or five days and then died. On his death, his son Harold was made earl of the West Saxons.

Though Edward was dignified by one of the popes with the title of *Confessor*, there is not much to set down to his credit, it ought therefore to be noted that in 1057, when he was fifty-five, he sent to Hungary for Edward the son of Edmund Ironside, who was now the only representative of the old royal race. He came over to England with his

children, but died on his arrival before he met his uncle. William of Malmesbury gives a favourable idea of Edward, and says that on account of the simplicity of his manners he was little calculated to rule, but he was a man devoted to God. Under him the country was not perhaps ill-governed, but then all was done, especially the fighting, by his great earls, Harold and Siward, who put down insurrections in Scotland and Wales.

Edward erected an abbey at Westminster and it was dedicated on Holy Innocents day 1065. The king was far too ill to be there but he sent the lady Edith instead. He became worse and had been two days speechless, but on the third day revived, and fetching a deep sigh, said, "Almighty God, if it be not an illusion but a true vision which I have beheld, grant me strength to tell it ; but if it be false, I pray Thee withhold the power." After this prayer he continued,—“I saw standing by me two monks whom I had seen in Normandy, and knew to have lived religiously and died most Christianly. They assured me that they were sent with a message from God, and then said, ‘Forasmuch as the princes, bishops and abbots of England are not the servants of God but of the devil, this kingdom shall within a year and a day be delivered into the hand of the enemy.’ On my saying that I would

declare this to the people that they might repent, they said it would be to no purpose for the people would not repent. Then I asked when a remission of such calamities might be looked for. They replied, 'When a green tree shall be cut down and the head carried far away from the roots, and after this, they of their own accord unite and blossom and bear fruit, then may a remission of these evils be hoped for.'

Edward died on Thursday January 5, 1066, the eve of the Epiphany, and was buried in the minster he had built. He was the first English king who touched scrofulous swellings and sores for the purpose of healing them.

On the death of Edward, it was necessary to choose another king. There were none left of the royal family but Edgar, grandson of Edmund Ironside and his sisters. Edgar was too young and scarcely an Englishman, so the Wise Men were obliged to look for a king not of the royal family. And who so fit as the great earl Harold, the son of Godwine? He had been chief ruler for several years, and he was wise and valiant, so on the same day king Edward was buried,—and that the day after his death—Harold was with unseemly haste hallowed in the West Minster, and the ceremony was performed by Ealdred, archbishop of York.

Stigand had always been a staunch friend of Harold and his house ; but he had not been formally made archbishop of Canterbury, and so Harold may have thought it safer to be crowned by Ealdred, about whom there was no doubt.

Harold had little peace during his short reign. Soon after Easter a very bright comet was seen and in those days a comet boded ill ; and it might well be thought so, when the king had two enemies to contend with, his brother Tostig and William duke of Normandy. Tostig was a reckless man and did not care what mischief he made ; William was bent on conquest. The latter, not to omit doing things in proper form, sent an embassy to demand the crown ; but it was to his fleet and army that he looked for success. Harold got together an army, the largest that had been known in England, and kept guard for a time over the south coast but the Normans did not come, and being short of provisions, he was obliged, on September the 8th, to let his people return home, retaining only the regular troops.

But he had to hasten at once with these northwards to repulse Tostig and a Norwegian host in Yorkshire, and fought a great battle on September 25, at Stamfordbridge, where he was victorious ; both Tostig and the Norwegian king being slain.

Four days only after this battle Duke William landed on the coast between Hastings and Pevensey. There were none to oppose him, and the people who dwelt on the coast saw with alarm the arrival of the ships, and the archers and mail-clad knights and horsemen—in all about sixty thousand—who were landed on the beach, and then formed into squadrons. An English thane who from a distance saw the landing, mounted his horse and rode day and night till he came to king Harold with the ill tidings. Harold said, “This is evil news indeed; would that I had been there to guard the coast and Duke William never should have landed; but I could not be here and there at the same time.”

So Harold hastened to London and stayed there about six days in order to get together as large an army as possible. He had an uncle named Ælfwig, who was abbot of the New Minster at Winchester. Ælfwig thought that those were times when even priests and monks ought to fight, so he and twelve of his monks put harness \* over their monks’ dress and joined Harold. Leofric abbot of Peterborough, also joined the king’s standard.

The king marched from London towards Hastings—where the Normans had set up their head quarters on Castle Hill—till he came to a hill called

\* A soldier’s suit of mail was called his harness.

Senlac, now Battle, and there he raised his standard on the spot where afterwards stood the high altar of the abbey William the conqueror erected.

The battle of Senlac, or Hastings, was fought on October 14. Harold had disposed his troops well and for hours they held their ground and the victory seemed to be theirs, when the Normans made a pretence of flying in order to allure the English from their position on the hill; the feint succeeded, for many of the English pursued, when the Normans, turning round upon them, routed them. The Norman archers pressed on and Harold was wounded in the left eye by an arrow and then cut to pieces by four Norman knights who rushed at him as he was dying. Ælfwig and his twelve monks were slain and Leofric, who was carried off wounded, died soon after the battle. The body of Harold was buried on the sea-coast under a heap of stones, but it was afterwards taken up and laid in Waltham abbey.\*

When the news of Harold's death reached London, the archbishops Ealdred and Stigand with such of the Wise Men as could be got together, met to

\* There is a story that a decrepit anchorite who lived in great seclusion in a cell near the abbey of S. John at Chester. and who was blinded in the left eye and deeply scarred, on his death-bed declared that he was king Harold and that he had been secretly conveyed from the field of battle. It is said Henry I. visited him.

choose a king, and they chose Edgar, a boy about ten, because there was no one else to choose, but he does not seem to have been crowned.

Meanwhile, Duke William took Romney and Dover and then went to Canterbury. There is an absurd story about Stigand and the Kentish men going to meet William. It is said that they carried branches of trees in such a way as to conceal their arms, so that they looked more like trees walking than men. The duke was in the midst of them before he was aware, and he was startled when all at once they threw down the green boughs and lo an armed host stood before him! The duke was greatly amazed, but Stigand advanced and declared that no hurt was intended, only they asked that he would grant to them their ancient liberties and suffer them to be governed by their old customs and laws. The duke consented very readily, as under the circumstances he could not very well refuse, and honourably performed what he promised, but it is said that he conceived such profound displeasure against Stigand for the part he had taken, that he never ceased till he had accomplished his destruction. Whether the story be true or not he, for a time at any rate, treated him with the utmost respect, and William knew well how to assume, when he chose, the most courteous demeanour; he

called him father, and went out to meet him whenever he came to him, and was most gracious in words and behaviour ; but it did not last.

The duke's next object was to win over the great cities London and Winchester. Winchester had been given to the lady Edith, king Edward's widow, as her dower ; and it is probable that she took the side of the Normans, as her husband had done,—Stigand, still bishop of Winchester, had we know made friends with them—so that when the duke asked from Winchester the tribute that it had been accustomed to pay to the old kings, it was very readily given.

He did not gain London quite so easily, but it also submitted after a time, and on the Christmas day after the battle of Senlac and in the same year 1066, he was crowned at Westminster in king Edward's new church. Some say he refused to be crowned by Stigand because he was not lawfully archbishop ; others say Stigand refused to crown William because he was not lawfully king. The latter statement does not seem probable after what Stigand had done ; and according to one account he assisted at the coronation, though the anointing and crowning were performed by archbishop Ealdred of York, who thus had crowned two kings in one year and neither of them of the old royal family.

The church was crowded with English and Normans, and Geoffrey bishop of Coutances first asked in French—"Will ye that William your duke be crowned king of the English?" Then archbishop Ealdred put the question to the English—"Will ye that William duke of the Normans be crowned king of the English?" All the people then clapped their hands and shouted "Yea, yea." So he was crowned king of the English.

The uncertainty about the validity of Stigand's appointment to Canterbury was an old grievance. We read that in 1061, two English bishops—Walter of Hereford and Gisa of Wells—went to Rome to be consecrated by pope Nicolas, because of the doubt there was as to whether Stigand was lawful archbishop. He got the pallium afterwards from pope Benedict X. but then it was argued that Benedict was not a lawful pope.

Soon after the coronation, king William, as we must now call him, went to Normandy, taking with him Stigand and several English noblemen under pretence of doing them honour but really, it is said, because he was afraid lest they might plot against him in his absence, and he believed that Stigand was both ambitious and influential.

Stigand found when he got back to England that the conduct of the Normans had roused the

indignation of the people who had found them even worse to deal with than their Danish persecutors of former days. About the same time there came over certain cardinals, sent by pope Alexander II. as legates to redress, as they said, some enormities and abuses among the English clergy.

Stigand soon perceived that he was the mark aimed at ; but so far was he from taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the English people that he went away quietly to Scotland, taking with him the youth Edgar. After a time he came back to England and was in the Isle of Ely until he heard that a synod was to be held at Winchester, when he at once went to the king and besought his interposition, reminding him of a promise he had made when they met near Canterbury, not to be offended with him ; for Stigand knew well enough that the king's displeasure was the source of his present trouble and what he had reason to dread. The king assumed the kindest manner, and in gentlest words assured him that he had no ill-feeling against him, on the other hand he loved him and wished he knew how to protect him from the threatening danger ; but what was being done was by order of the pope and he could not countermand it.

The synod was held at Easter 1070 ; Stigand was accused of three offences : first that he had

held together the two dioceses of Canterbury and Winchester, (S. Oswald, S. Dunstan and others had held two dioceses together); secondly, that he had invaded the see of Canterbury while Robert the archbishop was yet alive and undeprived; and lastly, that he had presumed to use the pallium of his predecessor, and had received no other, except from pope Benedict at a time when he was excommunicate for simony and other offences. Whether it was that people were afraid to interfere or that Stigand no longer possessed the confidence of his friends, he was condemned undefended and unheard; but not for the things charged against him. The king and pope had conspired to depose him, and the council was a mere formality. Tyranny when most tyrannical delights to act under legal forms even though the judgments it procures are an insult to common sense. At the same council many other prelates were deprived, amongst these was Agelmare, Stigand's brother, who had succeeded him at Helmham; many abbots and clergy of lower rank were also deprived. All this was done in order that the king might fill up the vacant places with his own countrymen and make his position in his new kingdom more secure.

After Stigand was deprived he was kept a close prisoner in Winchester Castle and very badly used

there, being scarcely allowed meat enough to hold life and soul together. As an excuse for this treatment, it was said that he possessed great wealth, but chose rather to starve than spend his money. He however protested most solemnly that he had none. The Norman historians who vilify him to any extent, would have one believe that he only pretended poverty, hoping to be let out of prison ; and that he resisted the entreaties of all his friends, especially of the lady Edith, to feed and clothe himself better. This story does not seem likely when it is acknowledged on the other hand that he was kept in prison and hardly treated that he might be forced to give up his hidden treasures.

Stigand did not live long in prison ; the cruel treatment soon told upon him, it is said that he had been even put in irons, but whether this is true or not, the same year he was deprived, he died of sorrow and grief of mind. He was laid in a leaden chest and buried in Winchester cathedral. His remains were afterwards placed with bishop Wina's in the same chest, which had at one time upon one of the sides the inscription,—

*Hic jacet Stigandus Archiepiscopus.*

It is said that a little key was found after his death suspended from his neck, the lock whereof being carefully sought out, a note with directions

was discovered in a casket, showing where to find infinite treasures hid under ground in divers places. All which the king stored away in his own coffers. Most persons will think if any such casket existed, it would have been broken open and the information obtained long before. But it became necessary to support one story by another.

Stigand has been accused of simony, perjury, apostacy and homicide; nor were his enemies choice in the epithets they applied to him. Dean Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, after examining well the credibility of his biographers, comes to the conclusion that he was neither a hero nor a saint, but an honest Englishman; and that the steadiness of his principles made the enemies of his country his persecutors.





## WALKELIN.

A.D. 1070-1098.

**A**FTER Theodore, there were, as far as we know, no foreign bishops in the English Church until the time of Edward the Confessor; now, after the Conquest, for nearly one hundred years, no Saxon was appointed to any bishopric or other high office in the church. These important posts were filled by Normans or foreigners, few of whom could speak any English. The only preachers were a few Saxon monks who visited the villages about the monasteries, or here and there a parish priest appointed by some Saxon landowner. The people had been accustomed to hear the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms, in their own language, but now all was said in Latin, and the service became to them only a show and a sound.\*

\* Churton's *Early English Church*.

When archbishop Stigand was deposed, both the dioceses of Canterbury and Winchester were vacant. Lanfranc was appointed to the former, and consecrated by the pope's legate, Armenfride, on August 29, 1070. Walkelin was appointed to Winchester at Pentecost, not long after the synod. Lanfranc had with some difficulty been persuaded to accept the office, for he was a native of Pavia and brought up in Lombardy, and he felt that his ignorance of the language and customs of the English would be a hinderance; he was a man of great wisdom and prudence, and therefore able to keep the imperiousness of the king in check. Walkelin was a Norman, cousin to king William and also his chaplain, he was not inferior to Lanfranc in merit, and though perhaps not quite so learned, still an eminent doctor of Theology in the university of Paris.

The monks at Winchester, we may well believe, did not take kindly to the foreign bishop, and we are told that Walkelin on his part, at the very first conceived a violent dislike to them, and to such an extent, that he would willingly have displaced them in favour of secular canons. But time passed on, bishop and monks knew each other better, and then he cherished them as sons, loved them as brothers and honoured them as friends and counsellors. He

succeeded with the help of his brother Simeon, whom he had made prior, in making some reforms among them, so well now did they work together, and, among other things, induced them to abstain from eating flesh and to be content with fish.

In the years 1071, 2, and 6, synods were held at Winchester under the presidency of the archbishop, to order various matters relating to the Church. At that of 1072, Hubert a Roman legate attended to determine a dispute as to the supremacy of the archbishop of Canterbury over the archbishop of York.

Walkelin's great work and that which has made his memory famous, was the rebuilding Winchester cathedral. We cannot suppose that in 1079, when he began this work, Æthelwald's cathedral, erected ninety-nine years before, could have become so dilapidated as to need rebuilding. Æthelwald was an architect of great experience and no doubt built substantially and well. It has been suggested that the cathedral may have been seriously damaged in the Danish wars by Swegen; but surely if this had been the case, his son king Cnut who lavished so much money on its ornamentation would not have neglected necessary repairs. We are driven then to the conclusion, that Walkelin was doing here what the Norman bishops in England were doing

everywhere and Lanfranc at Canterbury—enlarging their cathedrals. The Normans looked with great contempt upon the Saxon buildings, and replaced them as soon as they could with others of better material, more extensive, more lofty and massive.

The Saxon church built by Cenwealh and rebuilt by Æthelwald had, it is supposed, the same limits to the east as the present building, but did not extend so far to the west, probably by one hundred and fifty feet. Walkelin began by taking down the nave and extending the foundations to the present limit westward, and then erected the massive central tower, one hundred and forty feet high and fifty feet broad, which seems to defy the ravages of time and is to this day a mighty monument of the builder's skill. Walkelin's work does not seem to have extended beyond the transepts, and Mr. Garbett, an architect who was many years employed in the restoration of the cathedral and died in 1834, strenuously maintained that a very large, and well-defined portion of Anglo-Saxon work remained, and that the Anglo-Norman bishop did not level the whole to the ground. The low-built aisles at the east end are supposed to be part of the older church, but probably cased, and all that remains visible of Æthelwald's work will very likely be found in the crypts.

It was not the cathedral only that the bishop undertook to build, but also new cloisters, chapter house, dormitories, and other offices of the monastery, and to do this he would have to take down the western end of the old buildings.

In the year 1086, the bishop was in want of timber, probably for the roofs, and applied to the king, who gave him leave to take from a wood called Hempage, three miles from Winchester, on the Alresford road, as much as he could cut down and carry away in four days and nights. Then the bishop got together a large number of workmen and actually removed the whole wood within the given time to Winchester. The king happening to go that way, looked about with astonishment and exclaimed, "Am I bewitched, or have I lost my senses? where can I be? had I not just about here a delightful wood?" Being informed of the facts, he was much enraged, but the bishop went to him and threw himself at his feet and offered to resign his bishopric, if only he might retain the friendship of the king, such as he had enjoyed when he was but his chaplain. This mode of address entirely disarmed the king of his resentment, and he pleasantly replied, "Walkelin, I was too liberal in my grant and you were too greedy." Walkelin was then restored to favour.

This happened in the last year of William's life, as he died September 9, 1087, at a village in Normandy, and was buried at Caen. He had exercised his authority over the Church with a very high hand, and would not even allow the clergy to go out of the kingdom without his leave, or to acknowledge any act of the pope without his permission. On one pretext or another he had taken possession of the estates of several monasteries, it has been said that he did this in order to found new ones, but it is more probable that he converted them to his own use ; he was no doubt meditating further exactions when he had the Domesday Book compiled, a work which was hardly completed at his death.

William the Conqueror left Normandy to his eldest son Robert ; to his second son William, who on account of his red hair was surnamed *Rufus*, he left England, and gave him a letter for archbishop Lanfranc. William hastened to England, delivered his letter, and took possession of the royal treasures at Winchester. He was crowned by Lanfranc on the 27th of September.

Walkelin's new buildings were not completed till 1093, having been fourteen years in progress. On the 8th of April, the monks went in procession from the old monastery to the new, with great

exultation and glory, nearly all the bishops and abbots of England were present. Then there was another great gathering on the feast of S. Swithun in the same year, when S. Swithun's shrine\* was borne in solemn procession round the church and placed in the new building, about forty feet from its original position. The following day the workmen began to demolish the old monastery, and it was all down that year, except the portico and the high altar. The following year the high altar was removed, probably westward, and the remains of S. Swithun and many other saints were found.

During the reign of William Rufus the Church suffered most severely. Archbishop Lanfranc died May 28, 1089, and for more than four years, the king kept the archbishopric vacant in order that he might appropriate the revenues to his own use; he did the same with other bishoprics and priories. The clergy of Canterbury offered up prayers for a happy election to the see, and Anselm was named to the king as a man who loved God only, and desired nothing earthly. "No," said the king with a sneer, "not even the archbishopric of Canterbury? If he thought he had but a chance of it, would he not dance for joy; but by the Holy Face of Lucca, neither he nor any one else shall be archbishop."

\* Feretrum.

It was not till 1093, about the time Walkelin was completing the cathedral at Winchester that the king, who was dangerously ill at Gloucester, consented to the appointment of Anselm. But he a retired scholar, quite unaccustomed to battle with the world, and feeling how difficult it would be to discharge properly the duties of so high an office at such a time, shrank back. "You are yoking" he said "an unmanageable steer and an aged and weak sheep to the same plough. The wild nature of the king will oppress me ; you will see the Church laid waste during the shepherd's life." Anselm was at last, though not without force, prevailed upon to accept the appointment and he was consecrated by the archbishop of York, December 4, 1093.

In 1097, one, Radulf, had sixteen churches under his care that were without pastors. The clergy had each to pay to the king three or four hundred marks every year, some more, some less, and they were in such great misery that life was a burden to them.

Bishop Walkelin did not escape the king's exactions, for in 1098, the king being in Normandy and in want of money, sent an order to the bishop to send him without delay £200. In those days this was a very large sum and he could not raise it without either robbing the church or the poor ; as

he would do neither, he prayed that he might be delivered from the miseries of life. His prayer was answered in ten days, and the venerable and pious bishop departed to the LORD at Christmas-tide.\* He was buried in his cathedral, in the nave, at the foot of the steps leading to the choir, beneath the rood-loft where there stood a large silver cross that was archbishop Stigands's and two large silver images. On the marble which covered his remains these lines were inscribed :—

*Præsul Walklynus istic requiescit humatus,  
Tempore Wilhelmi Conquæstoris cathedralis.†*

Walkelin has been accused of taking some land from the monastery to increase the revenues of the bishopric, but in all other respects he bears a high character as a man of perfect piety and holiness, and of immense prudence. He was so abstemious that he eat neither flesh nor fish, and drank beer or wine but seldom and then very moderately. Whenever he celebrated the Blessed Sacrament in his chapel at Winchester his deacon and sub-deacon were monks. He who at one time had hated all monks, soon grieved for what he had said against them and made them all possible amends with the

\* Between Christmas and Epiphany.

† The prelate Walkelin who rests here entombed,  
In William Conqueror's time was here enthroned.

greatest humility. And in proof of this, Rudborne affirms that the church of Winchester commemorated Walkelin's departure with all the honour due to a special benefactor, which it would not have done if he had been in any way displeasing to the Church.

The following lines to his memory are given by Rudborne :—

Atropus occurrit, Lachesis traxit, reparavit  
 Clotho colum dire; patriæ flos cœpit abire.  
 O Walklyne, pater salveris, quod locus ater  
 Nunquam te violet, qui male semper olet.  
 Sed plausu plena cuncto Paradisus amœna  
 His animam teneat atque fovere queat.  
 Sitque Pater tibi dux, sit rector, sit tibi vita.  
 Filus et crux Sua lux tibi fiat ita.

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Atropus hastens, Lachesis has spun,  
 Clotho's wheel turns; our country's flower departs.  
 May you be safe, O Walkelin, may no place  
 Of darkness or bad odour injure thee!  
 But grateful Paradise with fullest joy  
 Receive thy soul and keep it safe from harm—  
 The Father be thy leader, guide and life,  
 The Son and His bright cross be light to thee.





## WILLIAM GIFFARD.

A.D. 1100-1129.

**O**N the death of Walkelin, William Rufus took possession of the temporalities of the see of Winchester and would not allow a bishop to be appointed as long as he lived. The prospects of the English Church were indeed most gloomy, when the king was suddenly taken away ; he perished by an unknown hand while hunting in the New Forest, on Thursday the 2nd of August 1100, and was buried the next morning at Winchester.

Those of the Council who were nigh at hand chose his brother Henry for king, who straightway gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Giffard who had been chancellor of England, probably a Norman, of high blood, a man of learning, and well spoken of as a churchman. From this hasty appointment, it looks as if the people of Winchester

had solicited the new king to give them a bishop, and that he wished to show his ready compliance with their request.

According to the Saxon Chronicle, the king then went to London, and on the Sunday after, before the altar at Westminster, promised to God and all the people to put down all injustices that were in his brother's time, and to maintain the best laws that were in force in the time of any king before him. And then, after that, Maurice, bishop of London hallowed him as king. In the Annals of the Church of Winchester, the coronation is said to have taken place at the Nativity.

When William Rufus died, S. Anselm was in banishment. He received the news at Chaise Dieu near Brioude, and messenger after messenger came from England, from Canterbury, from king Henry and from the great men, urging him immediately to return. Anselm landed at Dover on the 23rd of September and joined the king at Salisbury. Henry at once demanded that he should receive the archbishopric afresh by a new act of investiture.\* Lofty as the pretensions of the crown had been,

\* Archbishop Cranmer, afterwards when Edward the sixth came to the throne at the age of ten, with despicable and servile obsequiousness, declared that he was no archbishop until he had been reinvested. What a mean idea he must have had of his heavenly King and of his own holy office.

this demand was entirely unprecedented, and it is clear that Henry had determined, whatever he had promised, not to abate one jot of the supremacy over the clergy that the two preceding kings had assumed; he would exercise his authority in church matters perhaps somewhat more decently than they had done, but that was all. The Church which early Christian princes had cherished and protected was treated as a slave and plundered, while the people were subject to the iron rule of despot lords who had built their castles all over the country. To clergy and laity, groaning under this heavy yoke, the name of the good father of Christendom was the watchword of liberty, a refuge in distress.\* Formerly, Rome and the pope had been looked up to, much in the same way as Canterbury and its archbishop are looked up to by our Colonies in the present day. But in those days of oppression, the pope was the only power able to check the course of wrong and robbery. Here then was the secret of the power of the popes, which never prevailed in England but when rulers were tyrants. The wonder is that kings with such absolute power should be obliged to yield to a foreign authority; but tyranny itself is weak, nor can any power be strong which loses the support of the people.

\* Churton's *Early English Church*.

Giffard accepted the bishopric of Winchester with the consent of S. Anselm, but as the king required that the archbishop should submit to a reinvestiture with the ring and staff and Anselm refused, the king applied to Girard, archbishop of York, to consecrate Giffard. Girard seems to have consented at first, but when he found how matters stood he would have nothing to do with an irregular consecration.

In the mean time Anselm appealed to Rome. Paschal who was pope at that time, pointed out to king Henry that it was scandalous that the great church offices should be disposed of by kings. Henry would not listen to reason, but as it would seem, in mere bravado gave the bishopric of Salisbury to his chancellor Roger, a poor priest at Caen, who had pleased him by the speed with which he could get through mass ; and to another Roger, the clerk of the larder, the bishopric of Rochester.

Before the Conquest, the bishops in England were appointed by the clergy and then approved of by the Witan, where the bishops, some abbots, earls and thanes sat together. At the same time, the wishes of a wise and powerful king often influenced the election, so that it is sometimes said that the king appointed, or put forward a candidate ; but he did not direct or control the election,

for it was stated in the preamble to the ancient laws, that the Church should be free.

The controversy between Anselm and the king lasted nearly seven years, during which time we read of the king usually keeping his court at Westminster at Christmas and at Winchester at Easter, and of a second coronation at the latter place at Easter 1101.

On June 16, 1102, there was a great fire at Winchester. The centre of the city was burned, the royal palace, the mint, the guildhall and most of the city records, and many houses. This year king Henry married Matilda, daughter of Malcom king of Scotland by Margaret daughter of Edward the son of Edmund Ironside. This marriage to some extent reconciled the English to a sovereign who thus restored the old Saxon line. Matilda had been brought up in a convent at Winchester and was a person of most exemplary piety. Some of her letters which are extant, are full of Christian kindness, and her presence at court must have had some good influence.

S. Anselm went to Rome April 27, 1103, and Giffard went the same year. They remained there about two years without anything being settled. In one of the interviews with the pope, Warelwast, the king's advocate said, "that not to save his king-

dom will king Henry lose the investiture of the churches." "Nor, before God, to save his head, will pope Paschal let him have them," was the immediate retort. Anselm was coming to England in 1105, to excommunicate the king, when Henry tried to compromise the matter by allowing Anselm to take possession of the revenues of his see, but still insisted upon the old conditions. At last an arrangement was come to at a great gathering of bishops and nobles in London in August 1107; the question of investiture was given up, and it was agreed that bishops were to do homage for their temporalities. Then Anselm consecrated William Giffard to the see of Winchester, Roger to Salisbury, and three other bishops all in one day.

Some other memorable events took place this year:—the king and queen went through a coronation ceremony at Windsor: Godfrey who had been twenty-five years prior of Winchester died, he was the first and best of the Anglo-Norman writers of Latin verse: and on the 7th of October a tower of the cathedral fell down and covered the tomb of William Rufus with its ruins; it must therefore have been part of the old cathedral east of Walkelin's tower.

About this time, bishop Giffard built a palace at Southwark, which was called Winchester house,

on a plot of ground which belonged to the prior of Bermondsey, it is said to have been one of the most magnificent of its kind ; he also built there a church for the monastery of S. Mary Overy.\* But his most important work, begun about 1110, was the removal of the New Minster at Winchester, from the north side of the cathedral to Hyde, not very far off, and there he erected a stately abbey. The reason assigned for the removal is that the two monasteries were so close together, that the singing and bell-ringing produced confusion and led to disageement.

In 1122, there was a great quarrel between the bishop and the monks of Winchester, who fancied that the bishop had alienated some of their revenue. After two years, the quarrel was made up through the mediation of the king, and they afterwards lived in the greatest harmony, and in the end the bishop himself became a monk.

All this time king Henry had a good deal of fighting and a good deal of trouble. He had behaved most cruelly to his brother Robert and kept him in prison, where he died ; he also persecuted his brother's son, and all, that he might make the throne more secure for his own boy ; but alas to no purpose ! For the young prince, at the age of

\* S. Mary over the *rie*, or water ; now S. Saviour's.

eighteen was shipwrecked and he and many nobles perished. At Canterbury, things were far from satisfactory, Anselm died April 21, 1109; for five years there was no bishop, then Ralph d'Escures was archbishop till 1123, in which year we find Giffard assisting at the consecration of William de Corbeuil, of whom there is nothing good to say.

Giffard established a priory of Black Canons at Taunton in 1127, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, but the old priory church is now dedicated to S. James. In 1128, he founded a monastery of Cistercian monks at Waverley near Farnham, the abbey of which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, there he placed an abbot and twelve monks, and gave them all the land at Waverley and two acres at Elstead. This was the first house of the order established in England.

After having been bishop twenty-two years, reckoning from his consecration, William Giffard died at Winchester and was buried there, January 25, 1129, near bishop Walkelin, and these lines were inscribed on his tomb:—

*Wilhelmus Giffard praesul jacet hic tumulatus,  
Qui suscepit adhuc bibens habitum Monachatus.*

which may be thus translated:—

Here William Giffard, prelate, lies entombed,  
Who living, the monastic dress assumed.

Some Latin verses were written about him by the monastery of S. Hilda at Whitby, and a longer poem proceeded from the one at Reading. They are in the usual eulogistic style. The latter has the two following lines referring to the struggle between Church and State :—

*Ecclesiæ curam, Regi reddebat honorem,  
Debita distinguens Cæsaris atque Dei.*

---

His anxious care he lavished on the Church  
And to the King he rendered honour meet,  
Observing what was due to Cæsar, what to God.





## HENRY DE BLOIS.

A.D. 1129-1171.

**B**ISHOP Giffard died in January 1129, but according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it was after Michaelmas that the king gave the bishopric to the abbot Henry of Glastonbury, his nephew; and it is added that he was hallowed by archbishop William of Canterbury, on November the 17th. This Henry, was the youngest son of king Henry's sister Adela and the count de Blois, and had been, it is said, from his childhood, a monk at Clugny, before he went to Glastonbury.

The first thing we read about him after he was made bishop, is of his being at the consecration of Canterbury cathedral, May 4, 1130, and of going three days after with the king to Rochester, where he assisted at the consecration of the cathedral on the 7th of May, which was Ascension day. During

the ceremony, a fire broke out in the town which was almost entirely destroyed, and the new church was seriously injured.

On December 1, 1135, king Henry I., who was surnamed Beauclerc, died abroad at S. Denis, and Stephen, Henry de Blois's brother, and nephew also of the late king, hastened to England. King Henry left only one child, his daughter Matilda, who had married first, Henry V. of Germany, (and was called therefore Empress,) and then Geoffrey, duke of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet.\* She was on the continent, and Henry bishop of Winchester, of royal birth, and who seems to have been more of a politician or a soldier than an ecclesiastic, was now the first man in the country, and was able to secure the throne for his brother.

The archbishop of Canterbury at first refused to acknowledge Stephen, saying that he had sworn fidelity to Matilda, but when Stephen through the influence of his brother was accepted by the clergy, by the citizens of London and Westminster, and by some of the nobles who did not approve of the idea of being governed by a woman, William of Canterbury made no more scruples and crowned Stephen on December 26; S. Stephen's day being chosen for the ceremony. The bishops of Win-

\* Because he wore in his helmet a bunch of broom, *plante-de-genêt*.

chester and Salisbury were present, but not many of the chief people of the country.

Stephen was most profuse in his promises of good government, and swore many things, only as it would seem, to make more manifest his violation of every pledge. The royal treasure at Winchester, of vast amount, was not sufficient to satisfy the demands of the foreign soldiers whom the king thought it necessary to have about him in large numbers for his security. He therefore seized the property of the church, and robbed abbeys and monasteries. The bishops in self-defence built for themselves castles like the Norman barons. Henry de Blois, in 1138, built one at Wolvesey, at the east end of Winchester, and fortified his palaces at Farnham, Merton, Waltham, Downton and Taunton. This seems to have irritated Stephen, who soon found a pretext for arresting the bishops of Salisbury, Ely and Lincoln, and taking their castles and treasures. His brother remonstrated, and it was perhaps owing to a disagreement between the two brothers, that on the death of the archbishop, Henry was not appointed. The king, irrespective of any quarrel, was no doubt afraid of his brother having too much power and influence.

A synod was held at Westminster December 13, 1138, to choose a successor to William of Cor-

beuil. Henry had no less than eighteen bishops on his side, but the bishops, generally, were apathetic and stayed away, and Theobald, abbot of Bec, was appointed. If Henry felt any resentment at this, he took care not to show it, and was present and officiated at Theobald's consecration.

Immediately after this, Henry was invested by the pope with a legatine commission in England, on the strength of which he claimed precedence of the archbishop, and it is related that he had formed a plan for raising Winchester to an archbishopric by making the six sees of Salisbury, Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Wells and Chichester subject to Winchester, but owing to the death of the pope, his project came to nothing.

As papal legate, he convened a council which was held on August 26, 1139, to consider the conduct of the king in taking possession of the persons and property of the three bishops before named, for, he said, if they had committed any offence, it was not for the king to judge them, but the ecclesiastical court, and they ought not to be deprived of their possessions except by the same authority.

The bishop of Winchester opened the proceedings with a Latin speech in which he said that he was sorry to be the accuser of his brother, and pleaded in excuse, his zeal for the church. The

council was adjourned for the attendance of the archbishop of Rouen, who, when he came, said that bishops ought not to have castles. A compromise was therefore made : the king retained the castles, but had to do penance for taking them.

The council broke up on September the 15th, and on the last day of the month, the empress Matilda landed in England, attended by Robert, earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the late king ; and now for several years there was a civil war in the country. The barons took some one side, some the other, and each, shut up in his own castle, kept up a sort of petty warfare with his nearest neighbours of the opposite faction, so that all the land wore the appearance of desolation and misery.

There was a conference between the contending parties at Easter 1140, but Stephen would not agree to any terms proposed. In September, the same year, bishop Henry went over to the king of France to try what his mediation might do ; certain proposals were made to which Matilda agreed, but Stephen rejected them.

In 1141, the king went to Lincoln, and while there, the earl of Gloucester with the army of the empress, besieged the city and a great battle was fought on the 2nd of February. There is a story told, that on the morning of the battle when the

king was hearing mass, a candle broke into pieces while he was offering it, and also the pix fell down upon the altar. These were not considered tokens of good. The king fought bravely that day, but both his battle-axe and sword were broken and he was surrounded and taken prisoner. After having been presented to the empress at Gloucester he was taken to Bristol Castle, where, having attempted to bribe his keepers, he was confined with fetters.

Henry de Blois now admitted the claims of Matilda to the throne, and on the 23rd of March a splendid procession being formed, she was received in Winchester cathedral, the bishop of Winchester and Bernard, bishop of S. David's, conducting her, one on the right side, the other on the left; four other bishops were also in attendance. A few days after this, archbishop Theobald came to Winchester by invitation, but he declined to take the oath of allegiance to Matilda until he had conferred with Stephen; so he and some others visited the king in prison and obtained leave to submit to the exigency of the times.

The empress spent Easter at Oxford. On the day after the octave, a council was held at Winchester, at which Henry as legate presided. The archbishop, the bishops, many abbots and William of Malmesbury himself were present. With one

consent, Matilda was elected queen, having been proposed by the bishop in an eloquent speech. He explained his own conduct in this manner :—

“ As it seemed long to wait for a sovereign who delayed coming to England, for she resided in Normandy, we provided for the peace of the country, and my brother was allowed to reign. But though I gave myself as surety between him and God, that he would honour and advance the holy church, and uphold good laws, and abrogate the bad ; yet it grieves me to remember—shames me to say—how he conducted himself ; how justice ceased to be exerted against marauders ; how peace was annihilated almost within a year ; the bishops made captive, and compelled to give up their possessions, the abbeys sold, and the churches robbed of their treasures. You know how often I addressed him, both by myself and by the bishops, especially in the council held last year for that purpose, and that I gained by it nothing but odium. Everyone knows that I ought to love my mortal brother, but those who reflect will acknowledge that I should still more regard the cause of my immortal Father. Wherefore, since God has exercised His judgment on my brother, by permitting him, without my knowledge, to fall into the hands of the powerful, I have invited you all to assemble here by virtue

of my legation, lest the kingdom should fall into decay through want of a sovereign."

Matilda's first act was to move for the release of Stephen, but this was refused, as well as a similar application from the citizens of London.

In June, Matilda went to London, but she was not very cordially received; some accounts say that she behaved very ungraciously and would not pay any attention to the petitions of the Londoners; any how the manifestations of displeasure became loud and deep, and in the midst of preparations for her coronation, she was obliged to get away privately and went with the bishop, and her brother Robert to Winchester.

Not many days after, a misunderstanding arose between the bishop and Matilda. He wished that his nephew Eustace, king Stephen's son, should have Boulogne and other patrimonial estates, but Matilda refused. The bishop was angry and kept away from her. Then she sent messengers from the castle to Wolvesey, requesting him to come to her. His reply was very brief,—“I will prepare myself.” And this was the way he set about his preparations; he sent for all such as he thought were well-disposed to the king, and almost all the earls of England came. He also put his castle in a state of defence, and none too soon, for Matilda's

party headed by her brother Robert and her uncle, David king of Scotland, speedily attacked it. The bishop soon received help from London, and those who made the attack had now to stand on the defensive. The armies were great and warlike on both sides, and the military operations were carried on for seven weeks in the heart of the city. The empress had possession of the whole of the city to the north of the High-street where the royal castle was, and most of the houses of the citizens. The king's party held the bishop's palace, the cathedral and all south of the High-street. Fire balls were thrown from Wolvesey on to the houses of the opposite party. The havoc was dreadful; the abbey of S. Mary, twenty churches, the royal palace, the suburb of Hyde, and S. Grimbald's monastery were destroyed. The bishop is said to have gone to Waltham and was not therefore accountable in any way for this work of destruction. It was well that the earl of Gloucester did not retaliate with the same weapons, or the cathedral with the other side of the town might also have been burned.

The town being oppressed by famine, Matilda fled in haste on the 14th of September to Devizes; her brother in attempting to follow her was taken prisoner and carried to Rochester Castle. He was afterwards exchanged for Stephen.

Matilda after this, went to Oxford, and there Stephen besieged her three months, till she escaped one winter's night through the snow to Wallingford. The fighting continued till 1147, when the earl of Gloucester died, and Matilda wearied with the long struggle, resigned her claims to her son Henry, then about fifteen, and went to Normandy.

There was now peace for a time, and Henry de Blois made some improvements in the cathedral. In 1150, he collected the relics of many saints and confessors—Birinus, Swithun, Hedda. Byrnstan, and Ælfheah—and placed them in mortuary chests which he disposed round the sanctuary.

In 1153, the young prince Henry came from Normandy; Stephen with his army met Henry and his army at Wallingford. Stephen had then lost his son Eustace, so he was persuaded to make an agreement that he should keep his crown during his life, and that at his death Henry should succeed. The news of this treaty was received with joy throughout the country; but not long after, fresh disturbances seemed likely to occur, when Stephen was removed by death on October 25, 1154.

Henry, the son of Geoffry Plantagenet and the empress Matilda, was in no hurry to come to England. He was engaged in the siege of some castle when the news of Stephen's death reached him.

He waited till he had finished his enterprise, and then came, landing some where by the New Forest on the 7th of December and going on immediately to Winchester, where he was enthusiastically received. He and Eleanor his wife were crowned there by archbishop Theobald on December the 19th. The celebrated Thomas à Becket, who was Theobald's confidential adviser, now began to take a prominent place in English history ; for having been introduced to the king, he was in a short time made chancellor of England.

Henry II. began his reign well, and it was said of him when he had been one year on the throne, that "No king in so short a time had done so much good and gained so much love, since Alfred." But when archbishop Theobald died in 1161, we see the old covetousness of his Norman ancestry still predominant, for he kept the archbishopric vacant about thirteen months in order to appropriate the revenues of the see. When he could no longer with decency retain them, he appointed Becket, because he thought he was a worldly-minded man, devoted to luxury and pomp, who caring nothing for religion, he could make use of to subjugate the Church to his will. As it turned out, he had entirely mistaken Becket's character. Becket might appear worldly, but in private he was self-denying,

and devoted to God and His Church. The bishop of Winchester was on his side in the controversy between him and the king, declining to be bought over by any court favours.

Bishop Henry must now have been advanced in years and tired of intrigues. We hear now only of his good works, and one work of his has justly rendered his name famous—the foundation of the hospital of S. Cross near Winchester. He is supposed to have commenced it in 1132, but probably it was not completed till 1157, when he constituted the master and brethren of the hospital of S. John at Jerusalem its guardians, saving to the bishop of Winchester his canonical jurisdiction. The fine Norman church of S. Cross still stands, a splendid monument to his memory, but some other parts of the hospital have been rebuilt since his time.

This foundation, was originally for thirteen secular brethren who had daily a loaf of bread, a gallon and a half of good small beer, pottage, three messes for dinner, and one mess for supper. On a few days in the year there were extra allowances. One hundred men were also fed daily in what is still called the Hundred Mens' hall; and on the anniversary of the death of the founder, August the 9th, no less than three hundred persons were formerly entertained.

The revenue of S. Cross was originally about £250 per annum, and this was made up from the tithes of some parishes in the gift of the bishop, as Fareham, Twyford, Owlesbury and Whitchurch, which he appropriated for the purpose. He may have had a difficulty in providing funds, but this was taking from one foundation for the benefit of another ; and as the tithes of the parishes are still diverted from their proper use, this part of the scheme is to be regretted.

Among bishop Henry's other works, was the Benedictine nunnery of S. Margaret at Ivinghoe, founded about 1160, and a college for four priests at Merewell. He was the means of recovering much property belonging to the cathedral which had been alienated, and is said to have loved his church above all things ; he presented to it gifts beyond number, and among these, a large cross with images of the purest gold, for the high altar ; also a relic, which may have been regarded as still more precious—the foot of S. Agatha, who though a Sicilian martyr, seems to have been held in honour in England, being represented in one of the cathedral windows and having a place in our Calendar.

Henry de Blois was a man of great talents and many virtues, though with some failings and vices. He was most amiable and benevolent, and a story

is told which shows how he tempered strictness by kindness and generosity. It had been decreed in some synod that chalices of tin or common metal should not be used in the diocese. But the priests in the rural districts were not able to provide better and pleaded poverty. The next time therefore a contribution was levied from the clergy, Henry ordered each rector to provide a silver chalice of a prescribed weight as his *quotum*, and he undertook to pay the tax to the state.

The bishop in his old age increased his charities to such an extent that he hardly left himself and his servants the means of procuring one slender meal a day. He lost his sight some time before his death; this affliction he bore with the greatest resignation, but deeming it not sufficient discipline, he added to it voluntary mortifications, in the practice of which and in constant prayer, he departed to the LORD whom he loved with all his heart, on the eve of the festival of S. Lawrence, August the 9th 1171, having held the see of Winchester no less than forty-two years. He was buried in the cathedral before the high altar.

He left some writings behind him; one of them is an account of the discovery of the tomb of king Arthur at Glastonbury, most probably at the time when he was abbot there and building a new belfry

chapter house and cloisters ;\* another manuscript is concerning the state of the cathedral.

Pope Eugenius used to say of Henry de Blois,  
“ Hic ille est qui potuit linguâ suâ duo regna ~~cor-~~  
rumpere : in cuius erat potestate ad nutum creare  
potentes et evertere.”†

\* Destroyed by fire in the reign of Henry II.

† Here is a man who by his word was able to put down two governments ; who with a nod could make men powerful and overthrow them.





## RICHARD OF ILCHESTER.

A.D. 1174-1188.



FEW months after the death of the last bishop, a horrible crime was committed in England. Henry II. hated Thomas à Becket, the archbishop, because he religiously guarded the rights and privileges of the Church, and was beloved by the people. Four barons, thinking to please the king, went to Canterbury and brutally murdered the archbishop in his cathedral on December 29, 1171. Hatred and malice produced their natural fruit, and no one will doubt that the king was morally guilty of the murder, and he felt that he was, for he shut himself up three days in darkness, refused food and would see no one.

His penitence, however, did not last long, for we discover no improvement in his treatment of the Church. Canterbury and Winchester were both

deprived of their bishops the same year and were forced to remain without for three years. In 1172, when king Henry held a Parliament at Winchester, and had his eldest son, prince Henry, with his wife Margaret, anointed to be the future king and queen of England,\* he got the archbishop of Rouen to perform the ceremony.

The king had secured the succession to his son, but when he seemed to have arrived at the highest degree of prosperity, his happiness was clouded by the disobedience of his sons who were encouraged by their mother and aided by the licentious hangers-on about the court; the clergy too had not forgotten Becket's death, and the people venerated him as a saint and a martyr; altogether the prospect was a gloomy one and the king began to be afraid of open rebellion. To appease the storm which threatened, he erected a magnificent shrine to the memory of Thomas of Canterbury, and then walked barefoot to it; where having disrobed he suffered his bare shoulders to be lashed with scourges as he knelt before it.

In 1173, at the request of certain cardinals, he permitted the monks of Winchester to elect to the bishopric, Richard of Ilchester. According to the

\* Prince Henry did not live to come to the throne, he died in 1182, in his twenty-ninth year.

annals of the see, he was elected on May the 1st, at a council held at Pipewell abbey. He was born at Sock in Somersetshire, and is sometimes called **Toclive**, sometimes **More**, and was at one time, archdeacon of Poitiers. He may have been chosen because he pursued a different course from his predecessor in the controversy between the king and Becket; he had indeed taken so active a part against the persecuted prelate as to draw upon himself a sentence of excommunication.

When he was appointed to Winchester, there was no archbishop at Canterbury, and it was not till late the following year that he was consecrated at Lambeth by Richard the newly appointed archbishop, the confirmation having taken place on the 1st of October, and the consecration on October the 6th, 1174. Robert, bishop of Hereford, and Geoffry bishop of Ely were consecrated upon the same day.

Bishop Richard was at a council at Woodstock on July 1, 1175; the following year he was constituted justiciary of Normandy; at a parliament held at Windsor in 1179, he was made one of the itinerant justices for Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Gloucester, Somerset, Cornwall, Berks and Oxon; and some time afterwards he became chief justice of England.

Some disputes having arisen between the bishop and the brethren of S. John at Jerusalem about the hospital of S. Cross, of which they were the constituted guardians, the king interposed and decided them in favour of the bishop, who endowed it with the tithes of Morden and Hannington. Out of regard for God and the health of his own soul, he directed that one hundred additional poor men should be admitted to the same benefits as the rest, and provided funds for the purpose. This regulation is dated April 10, 1185, and was made at Dover in the presence of the king and attested by him. It does not seem to have continued long in force, for it ceased before the time of William of Wykeham.

After this he founded a hospital on a similar plan, on the opposite side of the city and dedicated it to S. Mary Magdalen. He gave to the church at Winchester the manors of Ham and Enoel, the former he redeemed for the purpose, the latter he bought.

During his episcopate, one Richard de Gravenell gave to the priory of S. Mary Overy, Southwark, the tithes of the manor of Tooting with the patronage of the church, for "Richard, bishop of Winton" confirmed the grant. Tooting is to this day called Tooting-Graveney.

Bishop Richard or Toclive died, according to most accounts on January 22, 1188, some have it 1187; in the annals of Winchester, under 1188, we read,—“Eodem anno migravit ad Dominum, Ricardus bonæ memoriæ Wintoniensis episcopus.” The inscription on his tomb has however 1189:—

*Præsulis egregii pœnant hic membra Ricardi  
Toclive, cui summi gaudia sunt poli.\*  
Obiit anno 1189.*

He was buried on the north side of the high altar near the choir, and below Wina.

The annals of Waverley abbey in recording his death, recite Psalm cxi, 9, (cxii, in our versions,) —Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justicia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi. It is added that “during his episcopate he erected buildings truly to be admired where his name is remembered, in his territory, from generation to generation. May He who after death alone can heal, have mercy on his soul!”

\* Here the just prelate Richard Toclive rests,  
And may the joys of highest heaven be his.





## GODFREY DE LUCI,

A.D. 1189-1204.

**I**F, as we believe, bishop Richard died in 1188, the see of Winchester was again vacant for more than a year, and no steps seem to have been taken to fill up the vacancy till after the death of king Henry II. who breathed his last before the altar of the abbey of Fontevrault, near Saumur, on July 6, 1189. He had asked to be taken there, to calm his troubled spirit. His favourite son John was leagued against him and he had in his rage cursed the day he was born; broken-hearted, he fell into a violent fever and died.

Godfrey de Luci, son of Richard de Luci chief justice of England, was nominated to the bishopric of Winchester, at a council at Pipewell abbey on September 15, 1189, and consecrated, October the 22nd, in S. Catherine's chapel, Westminster. He

had been, as we are informed, archdeacon of Derby, canon of York, and justice itinerant.

King Richard, who was in Normandy at the time of his father's death, suffered much from remorse for the part he had taken against him. He came to England, but could not rest there long, as if its associations were disagreeable to him. He was crowned at Westminster on December the 3rd, and Godfrey de Luci carried the royal cap in the procession. This day was rendered notorious on account of a general massacre of Jews in London and some other towns ; the king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at the coronation, and the lawless mob made this a pretext for plunder and slaughter.

The very next year the king went to join the Crusade, leaving his brother John and the bishop of Ely to govern the country, and according to all accounts, they governed so ill that Richard set his face homewards. He was shipwrecked on the way, and attempting to pass through Germany in the disguise of a pilgrim, he was taken prisoner by the duke of Austria and thrown into a dungeon. After a time he was ransomed and then returned to England, landing at Sandwich, March 20, 1194.

He could scarcely consider himself a king, after his captivity, without a new coronation, it is said,



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so he went to Winchester for the purpose, and arrived there on the 15th of April, that night he spent at the castle, and the following night at the monastery. He told his brother Geoffry, the archbishop not to have his cross carried before him in the procession next day, lest it should renew the controversy between Canterbury and York about the primacy. Geoffry upon this refused to take any part in the ceremony and went away.

The coronation, as it is called, was on the octave of Easter, April the 17th, but it was not a crowning, for the king came in the procession to the church, wearing his crown and royal robes, and holding the sceptre in his right hand.

The king did not behave well to the citizens of Winchester, for he sold the privilege of performing the office of butler, which was theirs by custom, to the Londoners. He dispossessed the cathedral of two manors, and the bishop of the royal castle which he had sold to him,—Godfrey on this account was not at the coronation. He cited some of the nobles before him and imposed fines upon others. His object seems to have been to raise all the money he could, and when he had done this, he went to Waltham and then on to Portsmouth, where he embarked for Normandy, never more to return. Before he went away the

first time, he sold the revenues and manors of the crown, and several important offices, and when he was spoken to on the subject, he said he would sell London too if he could find a purchaser.

Bishop Godfrey went March 22, 1198, over the sea, and mediated between the archbishop of York and his brother the king who received him with the kiss of peace. Godfrey returned in June and landed at Pevensey on July the 17th.

The following year, he made a new market at Halresford (Alresford), and called the name of the town, Novum Forum, *New Market*. He also restored the navigation of the river Itchen, not only from the port of Northam, the old Southampton, as far as Winchester, but almost to its source near Alresford. There, by means of a dam he made a lake, now called Alresford pond, to supply the navigation with water. This work, which shows the bishop's ingenuity, was not finished till the following reign, when he secured for himself and his successors the royalty of the river, and obtained a charter for collecting dues on the shipping.

On March 26, 1199, Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, was wounded at the siege of the castle of Chalus and died on the 6th of April. Of the ten years nearly he reigned, he had spent only about four months in England.

The accession to the throne, of the wicked king John, does not seem to have disturbed bishop Godfrey. While John was fighting in France, Godfrey was better employed at home. He completed and enlarged a priory at Westwood in Kent, which his father begun ; he then turned his attention to his cathedral, and renewed and erected so much of it, as to deserve a place among its founders. He first built a tower which seems to have stood over the east end of the church and was completed in the year 1200. Two years after, he established a confraternity for the rebuilding the east end of the cathedral, binding them to complete the work in five years. Bishop Godfrey built in the pointed style of architecture then coming into use, and his work may be distinguished by the ranges of short pillars supporting trefoiled arches, by the lancet windows and the clusters of Purbeck marble shafts with gracefully moulded caps and bases.

He did not live to see the completion of this great undertaking, as he was taken away on the 11th of September, 1204. He was buried in the newly erected portion of the cathedral, near the altar of S. Mary, outside the Lady Chapel.

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## PETER DES ROCHES.

A.D. 1204-1238.

**P**ETER des Roches, the next bishop, was a native of Poitiers, and had served in France under Richard I. by whom he was knighted. He afterwards became archdeacon of Poitiers; he is said to have filled also the office of precentor of Lincoln cathedral.

There had been a double election to the see of Winchester, Richard dean of Salisbury, and Peter des Roches being chosen. They both went to Rome to appeal to the pope, and Peter was consecrated at Rome on Sunday, September 25, 1205. He did not return to England till the next year, when he was received at Winchester with a solemn procession and enthroned on Palm Sunday. He brought back the pope's command about collecting the Peter pence, but no attention was paid to it either by the king or the clergy.

In consequence of the death of Hubert Fitz Walter, the diocese of Canterbury was now vacant and the monks chose Reginald their sub-prior, but the king nominated John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. Again there was an appeal to the pope who decided that the election rested with the chapter, but with extravagant inconsistency compelled the half-dozen representatives of the chapter who were at Rome to elect his nominee, Stephen Langton. Thus the absurdity of the *congé d'élire* was enforced by pope Innocent who consecrated Stephen at Viterbo, in 1207.

Notwithstanding these arbitrary proceedings, the choice was a most excellent one; Stephen Langton was not only a good man, but also an advocate for the independence of the English church against the tyranny of the king on the one hand and the power of the pope on the other.

King John refused to receive the archbishop, and the pope put the whole kingdom under an interdict, by which all spiritual officers were suspended and no religious rites were to be performed except absolution to the dying and the baptism of infants. The churches were closed, and burying in consecrated ground was prohibited. The interdict lasted six years, but we are led to believe that it was by no means rigidly observed.

In 1209, bishop Peter, who took the king's side against the pope, went with Galfridus and an army into Wales. On October the 10th, the same year, Stephen Langton landed at Dover with the bishops of London and Ely; their arrival being announced to the king, he went to Chilham and from there sent the bishop of Winchester and others to negotiate, but on his own terms, so the archbishop went back again. The pope after this passed a sentence of excommunication upon the king, and the bishops of Winchester and Norwich—hitherto friendly to the king's cause—were commissioned to absolve John's subjects from their allegiance.

The clergy and people now no longer cared to obey the king. And he who had murdered his nephew Arthur, now made himself odious by a succession of wanton barbarities. John, furious with passion, was equal to any atrocity, but when he was threatened with an invasion by Philip, king of France, he laid down his crown and submitted to whatever stipulations the pope imposed upon him. In 1213, the archbishop came to England and took possession of his see, and on July the 20th, he solemnly absolved king John at Winchester; the interdict was not taken off until July 1st next year.

Bishop Peter, in 1214, was made chief justice of England, and the guardianship of the kingdom

was committed to him during the absence of the king, who, contrary to the judgment of his barons, invaded France in conjunction with Otho, emperor of Germany. This year the bishop was at the dedication of five altars at Waverley abbey and the benediction of the cemetery.

Otho being speedily defeated, king John hastily returned to England. While he was away, the barons weary of his weakness and wickedness, had conspired against him, and they were joined by archbishop Stephen who, soon after his arrival in England, had found in some monastery a copy of a charter granted by Henry I. From this the archbishop drew up a bill of rights, which the king was called upon to sign. John refused for some time, but when his prospects became desperate and he was left at Odiham with only a poor retinue of seven knights, he was glad to come to terms. He had even asked the archbishop to excommunicate the barons, not knowing he was on their side, he now proposed a conference. The two parties met on Trinity Monday, June 15, 1215, in a meadow called Runemead,\* between Windsor and Staines, in the parish of Egham. At this conference king John signed the famous **MAGNA CHARTA**.

\* Supposed to to be an old Anglo-Saxon meeting place. *Runes*, were secret writings.

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The pope denounced the archbishop for the patriotic part he had taken, sent an order for his suspension to the bishop of Winchester, and openly espoused the king's side, so much so that when the chapter of York elected Simon, Stephen Langton's brother, for their bishop, the pope, aided by the king, set aside the election and put in Walter de Gray, the king's nominee at Canterbury, whom he had before rejected.

King John died October 19, 1216. He was a bad man and a worse king, but his wickedness was overruled for good. Being driven from Normandy, the Normans had now to make England their home, and the despised Saxons were henceforward their countrymen. The two races had now common interests, and both were aggrieved by the tyranny of a profligate king. Magna Charta, won by their exertions, was the pledge of their reconciliation.

On the death of John, Stephen Langton was restored ; but it was Peter des Roches, assisted by the bishop of Bath, who crowned the new king, Henry of Winchester—so called from the place of his birth. Henry III. was John's eldest son, yet only nine years of age when he came to the throne. The coronation took place at Gloucester on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1216. Westminster and Winchester were in the hands of

Louis, son of the king of France, to whom John had promised the crown.

During the first years of Henry's minority, the earl of Pembroke governed the kingdom with success and entirely routed the forces of prince Louis at Lincoln on May 19, 1217.

Bishop Peter was present at the consecration of Worcester cathedral in 1218, and in 1219, on the death of the earl of Pembroke, he and Hubert de Burgh governed jointly. Henry III. was crowned again May the 17th, 1220. During the Norman period, the kings of England frequently appeared in public wearing the royal crown, and on great occasions it was placed on their heads with some amount of ceremony, but the unction was not repeated. In this case, as Henry had been crowned in a hasty manner, he was a second time crowned and anointed.

In 1221, the bishop introduced Dominican or Preaching Frères into Winchester; and on the 19th of September the same year he was enrolled among the crusaders and took the Cross. He continued to have great authority in the state and the king relied implicitly on his judgment; this procured him many enemies, and when he advised the king instead of heavily taxing the poor, to resume some valuable grants that he had inconsiderately made

amongst his courtiers, there was a great outcry against him. His enemies at length succeeded in supplanting him, and he lost the king's favour. We hear nothing of him till 1226, when he augmented Merewell, and was at the dedication of two altars at Waverley.

The next year he joined the Crusaders in the Holy Land; in 1228, he was one of the leaders of the crusading army, and in 1229, entered Jerusalem with Frederick II. About July the 22nd, 1230, he went to Rome and returned to England in 1231, having been absent about five years. He landed in July, about S. James's day, and on the 1st of August was received at Winchester by the monks with a solemn procession. He presented to the cathedral the foot of S. Philip and many other relics which he had brought with him. He very soon regained his former influence and celebrated the following Christmas at Winchester with unwonted magnificence. He invited the king, judges, barons, bishops, clergy, and knights to an entertainment where there was such provision together with gold and silver as would have sufficed for a coronation.

About this time the bishop began to build an abbey at Titchfield for Premonstrant or white canons, and in 1233, he founded a priory at Selborne for Austin or black canons, which was dedicated

to the Blessed Virgin. It is said that king John had given him the manor of Selborne in 1214, for this purpose.

This year the bishop had another disagreement with the king, no doubt many were jealous of his influence and did all they could to set king Henry against him. One, Robert Bacon, a friend of Gros-tête bishop of Lincoln, in a sermon preached before the king, declaimed against foreigners and said that a pilot should especially beware of *stones* and *rocks*, alluding to the names of bishop Peter. The bishop went to Dover, intending to go abroad, but there he was stopped and could get no further, he then returned to Winchester, arriving on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, June the 28th, here, his horses were seized, and he interdicted both the church and the city. The next day the bishop and monks were reconciled.

The bishop once more recovered the king's favour, and was afterwards sent for to Rome by pope Gregory IX. on some business, for he stood high in the estimation of foreign princes. He set sail on March the 11th, and returned to Winchester on S. Andrew's day 1236. He was this year, one of the witnesses to a confirmation of Magna Charta. It was this year that the king married Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence.

Peter, in the reign of king John, and soon after he became bishop, founded a famous hospital at Portsmouth, called the "Domus Dei," it was dedicated to S. John the Baptist and S. Nicholas and received many benefactions after the death of the founder. The present Garrison chapel, restored in 1868, under the direction of Mr. Street the architect, is all that remains of it. He founded also a chapel on the south side of Chertsey church, and dedicated it to S. Mary Magdalen; and another at S. Mary Overy, with the same dedication.

He intended to found two Clistercian abbeys, but being prevented by death, his executors fulfilled his pious designs. One was in England, at Netley or Edward-Stowe, "Locus S. Ædwardi," and was supplied with monks from Beau Lieu, on the other side of Southampton Water; the other abroad.

In the Holy Land, he removed the church of S. Thomas to a better situation, and fortified the town of Joppa, which was a refuge for Christians. To both he left by will, large sums of money.

Peter des Roches, or "de Rupibus," departed this life at Farnham Castle, on June the 9th, 1238. His heart and bowels were buried in S. Mary's, Waverley; his body was carried to Winchester, and there honourably entombed in his cathedral, but by his desire without pomp.

Matthew of Paris says of this bishop, "In his death, England, both in church and state, received a great wound. Whatever good happened to the church, either by peace or war, in the Holy Land, at the coming of the emperor Frederick, is especially to be ascribed to the wisdom of this bishop; and when a disagreement between the pope and the emperor threatened the destruction of the whole church, he was especially the means of making peace between them." Matthew of Westminster admits that he was "In negotiis plus bellicis quam scholasticis eruditus."



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